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ABSTRACT

Presenting varied perspectives describing the Native American woman, this book is divided into six chapters as follows: (1) Native Americans and Anthropology (this chapter illustrates the way in which anthropologists have helped stereotype American Indian women); (2) The Native American Woman in Ethnographic Perspective (emphasizing role variations and tribal differences, this chapter points up the importance of cultural background); (3) The Native American Woman in Historical Perspective (emphasis on the negative stereotyping of American Indians by historians, with the assertion that the historian typically stereotyped more severely than the anthropologist); (4) The Plain's Native American Woman (emphasis on Cheyenne sexual roles, sexual rites, and sexual taboos); (5) The Native American Woman in Transition (lengthy excerpts from a biographical account by Bonnin and a semi-autobiographical account by Qoyawayma, both women who have experienced change agent roles); (6) A Perspective of the Issues and Challenges Facing the Contemporary Native American Woman (low income; legal problems; sexism; the Women's Movement; questions re: marriage, identity, and inter-tribal marriage; education; and religion). (JC)

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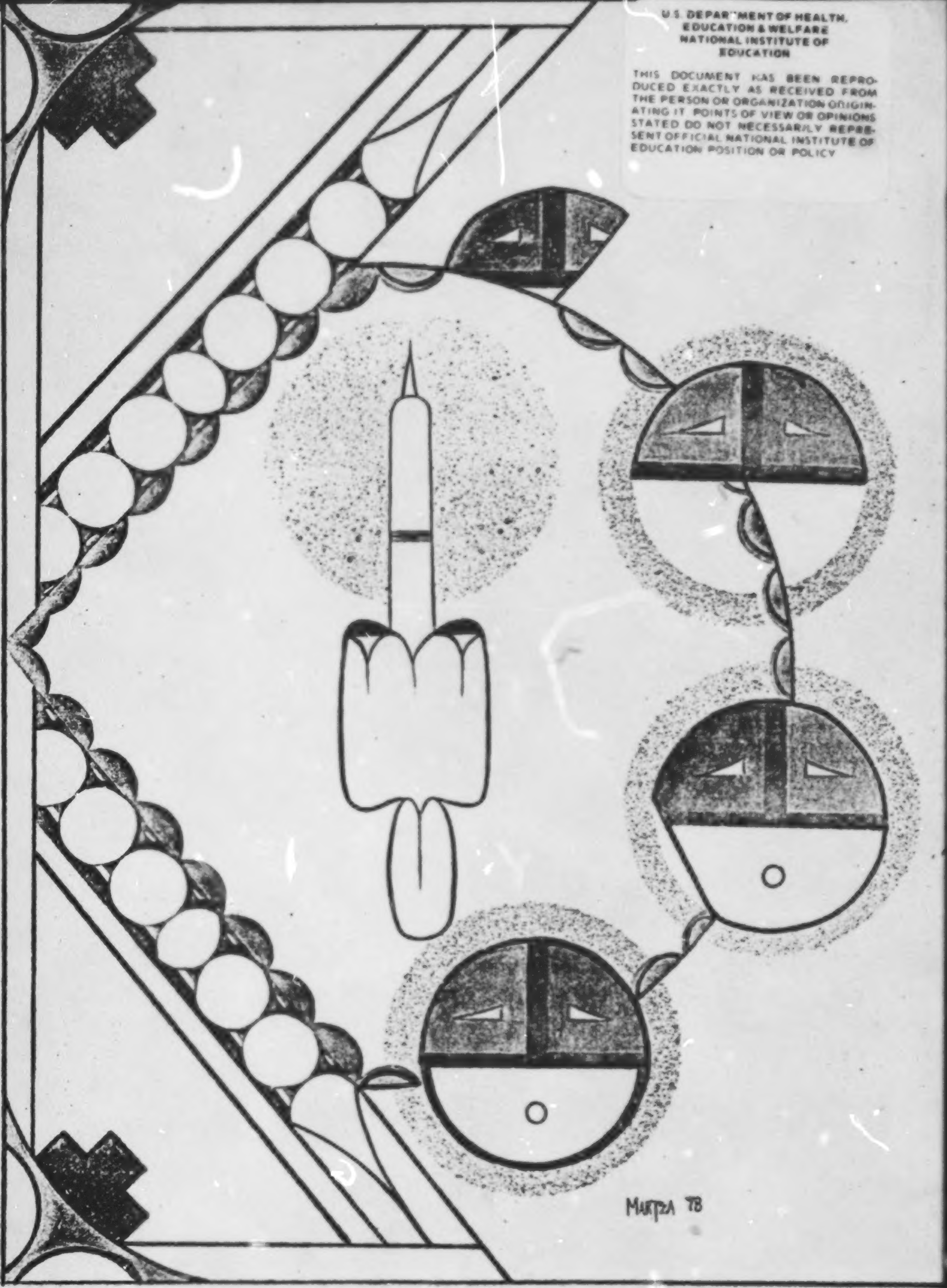

a perspective

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The Native American Woman:

A Perspective

by

Bea Medicine

ERIC/CRESS

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March 1978

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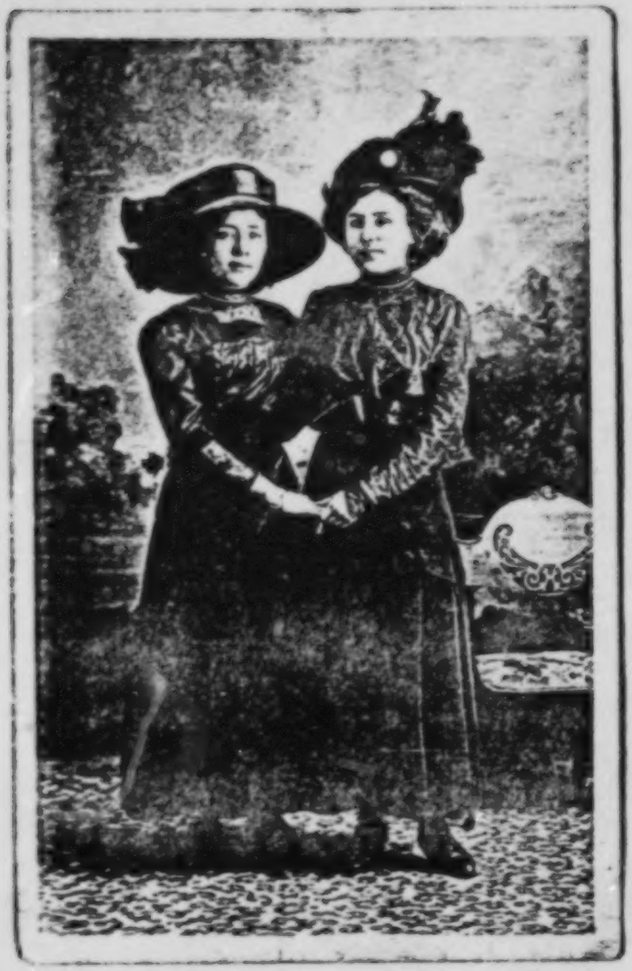
Cover illustration by Carlotta Martza of the Zuni Tribe

The four life elements on the cover page represent the four phases of life; the upper right is the first stage in a woman's life: infancy. The second cycle is early childhood while the third cycle is young womanhood. The fourth and final cycle is old age.

To the center is the peace bird, the symbol of the Rising of the After-Life.



Postcard: Lakota Women
By courtesy of Bea Medicine's Private Collection

A PREFACE TO THE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN: A PERSPECTIVE

A number of events have led to the writing of this book, The Native American Woman: A Perspective. The initial step was taken towards its beginning when I taught a course entitled, "The Role of Women in Native American Societies" at Dartmouth College in 1974. Many people, Native and non-Native, expressed an interest in the course, and, from the written and spoken inquiries regarding it, I surmised that many potential instructors of projected courses variously entitled Indian Women or Native American Women were, in fact, asking for details and guidance. It pointed to a lack of organized data in analyzing women's roles in Native American culture. I answered all requests for information and subsequently published a partial bibliography which appeared in "The Indian Historian" (Vol. 8, No. 3, 1975). It, too, bore the name of the course.

In 1976, I taught the course again to a mixed student enrollment at Stanford University. I felt that often a course of this kind can become a learning experience for both sexes.

In that same year, June 1976, I was privileged to attend a conference of Native American women writers at Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona. It was an exhilarating experience. Much creative talent was exhibited by such writers as Donna Whitewing (Winnebago), Leslie Silko (Laguna Pueblo), Nia Francisco (Navajo), Roberta Hill (Onieda), and Anna Walker (Pawnee-Otoe), to name a few authors whose works are currently available in anthologies. It is from these creative works by representatives of Native American womanhood that one is able to obtain an evocative portrait of the Native American female.

Later in 1976, I conducted a workshop on "Native American Women" at the 1976 annual meeting of the National Indian Education Association in Albuquerque.

I was surprised and delighted with the response. Native women of all tribes reacted enthusiastically to my presentation, and, in fact, much of the text of this book reflects their interests and concerns.

In October 1976, at a conference on the research needs of Indian women sponsored by the National Institute of Education, I read a solicited paper entitled, "The Interaction of Culture and Sex Roles in the Schools."

Finally, in May 1977, I read yet another paper, at a conference funded by N.I.E., on the "Issues in the Professionalization of Native American (Indian) Women."

All of these papers were Indian-oriented for they dealt directly with the unique status of Indian women and they reflected the very contemporary, urgent interest in Native women. Furthermore, I had tried, in them, to penetrate the gloss of "the Indian woman" which is but another variation of the usual stereotypes of the American Indian. The papers, in my estimation, conveyed the viewpoint of one Native woman's experiences and perspectives. They were, also, viewed as vehicles which could broaden the comprehension of people, primarily non-Natives, of the variety of Indian women which could be seen through the perspective of Native society, both past and present.

Besides the series of events which demonstrated an interest in and a need for a book of this type, I had certain compelling professional interests and concerns, as an anthropologist, which also influenced me. I have had a long-standing interest in women, an interest which long pre-dated the anguished cries of women in the contemporary "Women's Movement." At the behest of Dr. John C. Ewers of the Smithsonian Institution, I read a paper on the ethnography of Indian women at the American Ethnohistory Association, 1970. A paper, entitled "Warrior Women of the Plains," was later given at the

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International Congress of Americanists Meeting in Rome, Italy, in 1973. In June of that same year, Wilma Victor (Choctaw) and I were selected to attend the first International Conference of Indigenous Women of the Americas in San Cristobal, Chiapas, Mexico. As can be seen my interest in Native women was conceived early and has remained constant.

Many Natives have accused me of being an "Anthro" and have attempted to shift to me the burden of all the sins the "Anthros" did not die for. To some of these, it will undoubtedly appear that, in writing this book, I am promoting the discipline in which I make my living. To these people, I say simply this, "Not so."

Others will declare that this book is the work of a "Women's Libber" who is disinterested in the other half of the human species: Man. This is a label many Native men attach to any Native woman who speaks out in defense of women's rights. With regard to this charge I can only say, I believe in the equality of the sexes in any social context, White or Indian. I find children of all races and sexes fascinating for it is in their socialization processes that all the beliefs, attitudes, and experiences about gender behavior which color their perceptions, their attitudes, and the actualization of their sexual beliefs is transmitted. Indians, no matter what the tribe, reflect the male or female orientations of that tribe.

When I first taught the course, "The Role of Women in Native American Societies," I did so, primarily, as a response to the fact that there were few, if any, Native women involved in the Women's Liberation Movement. When questioned about this, many of my Native female acquaintances often replied, "Why should I belong? I'm already liberated!"

But are they? The answer to that question, I believed, could be found in a course which examined Native women's place in traditional societies. It could give clues to a better understanding of women's roles in present societies. I also felt that it was time to confront Indian men with the evidence of growing self-awareness and self-assessment which is current among Indian women at this time. To do this, I was compelled to take discussions with Indian women out of my living room and university office to assess the problems in male, female relationships with which they were confronted in the dominant culture and their own individual tribal cultures. In a classroom in which both sexes are present, this has proved to be an effective means of enlarging the awareness of both sexes. It is also tied to the larger issue of individual autonomy in a bi-cultural context. For young Indian women, however, it posed some problems. On the one hand, it has meant the beginnings of self-actualization and expression of potential; on the other hand, Native societies and the males in them have continued their attempts to restrict these very same women. Phrased differently, Indian males are chauvinistic! They are the first to admit this fact. However, they justify their stance by saying that certain behavior and proofs of self-sufficiency in an Indian female in "Not the Indian way!" Whatever that may mean!

This flies in the face of fact, of reality. There are as many tribal ways as there are many viable life styles. From that time during which Native cultures operated in a state of distinctive equilibria before the onslaught of the dominant culture, tribal cultures have constantly undergone and reacted to forces of cultural change, and it is with this fact in focus that an examination of sex roles is imperative.

In conclusion, let me say that a prime concern of mine has always been my Native American colleagues, friends, and tribal constituencies, so that when I was approached by ERIC/CRESS in 1977 to write a book on Native American women, I agreed. I reasoned that it was time to set out my thoughts, the experiences I found to be most helpful in my classes, and the reactions of my students, both male and female. I have learned much from them.

By publishing in this press (ERIC/CRESS), hopefully, a greater number of my tribal contemporaries who are teaching courses on Native American women may have greater access to the materials.

I thank ERIC/CRESS and especially, Dr. Everett Edington, for their confidence in me. I also express appreciation to Valorie Huff Johnson (Seneca) and Roberta Wilson (Oglala Lakota) for their appraisal of the manuscript and to Brette Monagle for her careful editing.

Madison, Wisconsin and
Wakpala, South Dakota
Standing Rock Reservation
August, 1977

Bea Medicine
Hinsha-waste-agli-win
(Returns Victorious with
a Red Horse Woman)
Hunkpapa-sihasapa
Lakota

Photograph by Courtesy of Enrique Berroterán
Professional Photographer, Las Cruces, New Mexico

CHAPTER I

NATIVE AMERICANS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The anthropologist and the Native American have had a long history of interaction. Indeed, it has been suggested that American anthropology was built upon the backs of the Native Americans (Medicine, 1973). Native American cultures have certainly been the focus of ethnological study for many generations, and interest in the "vanishing Americans" has been a potent force in the collection of cultural fact and artifact from the beginnings of American anthropology.

Few would argue that anthropological sources and concepts of culture provide invaluable guides to the understanding of Native American behavior and the means by which these Natives sought a satisfying life in human groupings. The concept of culture allows one to comprehend the variety of "schemes of life that worked," (E. Deloria, 1944) if it is viewed as an integrated system of ideas, beliefs, behaviors, and artifact which individuals in a tribal group learn, share, value, and transmit. Any further attempt to define a concept of culture to which all anthropologists would adhere or agree to, however, seems an impossibility. This was demonstrated in the work of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, 1963) when they examined over one hundred definitions by anthropologists and found none completely acceptable. Not withstanding, the articulation of a comprehensive definition of the construct of culture is not the aim herein. To Kluckhohn's definition of the construct as "historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which may exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952) I would add a category, "women," and carry on.

Despite American anthropology's longstanding relationship with Native American societies, it has not been without its deficiencies. Materials have been few and scattered, and what has been gathered deals largely with the Indian male. If information from the past is scanty, the present accounts leave even more to be desired, for there are few contemporary studies of Indian females. It seems counterproductive, however, to decry the lack of written data. One must simply set about examining a great many ethnological studies of Indian tribes to glean information about the diverse role of women in Native cultures.

This leads to another deficiency which becomes very apparent in any investigation of the anthropological studies of Native American societies. Early anthropological data regarding the Indian tribes of North America reveal the pervasive endocentric bias of the nineteenth century male academe. It is as if each Native American society were viewed as a "company of Native men" and, as reported by male anthropologists, the female component of these societies was seriously short-changed or cast in an unfavorable light. Whether or not this unattractive delineation of Native women in the accounts of nineteenth century male academicians, in fact, represents the Native women's true behavior or the behavior prescribed for them when with strange males has never been determined. It is entirely possible that cultural constraints very often prohibited, tacitly at least, the interaction of Indian women with non-Indian men in the reservation period so that a more accurate portrait could emerge.

This has led to the charge, particularly in papers prepared by Native American women, that anthropologists have always presented Indian women as "drudges." Shirley Hill Witt explicitly faults the "Anthros" for the perpetuation of this image (Witt, 1974). I share this view. "In anthropological literature, Native women have been referred to as drudges, beasts of burden, and other demoralizing terms" (Medicine, 1977). Native men have also not been reluctant to characterize Indian women in this manner. They are fond of pointing out that Indian women walked ten paces behind them. To this statement, I have replied, "Of course, we walked ten paces behind you. That's documented. And the reason that we did was to tell you where to go" (ibid.).

Also contributing to the androcentric bias in anthropological writings were women anthropologists themselves. This can be said of most of the female collectors of fact in the early period of American anthropology. Despite the fact that the "father of American anthropology," Franz Boas, encouraged women to enter the field (Jones, 1970), the work they produced did not focus specifically on the woman's role in the Native cultures of North America. For the most part, like the men, they seemed to be caught up in the fervor of collecting information before the tribes disappeared into the sunset, with the women ten paces behind them. Women students, in training as anthropologists, seemed tied to the same analytical tools and rubrics as their male counterparts. Treatises on kinship, language, art, folklore, religion, and material culture were the result. But to say that the role of women was totally neglected would be a half-truth. They appeared in kinship charts or as adjuncts to men, in the various economic pursuits of indigenous cultures, and from these ethnographic accounts can be teased images of women.

Examples of this lack of focus on women can be seen in the work of Alice Cunningham Fletcher who worked with an Omaha, Francis LaFlesche. Much of the Dawes Act allotment system was drawn from her idea that "what was good for the Indians" could be prescribed for them by persons outside their culture. Despite this, however, her work regarding the tribe, during a time of despondency and despair, offers good information concerning the early contact period for this group (Fletcher and LaFlesche, The Omaha Tribe, 1906), even if it did not examine the women's role as such. Even that great biographer of the Winnebago, Mountain Wolf Woman, Nancy Lurie writes in her field work of her male mentor in "Two Dollars" (Kimball and Watson, eds., 1972).

Margaret Mead, not an Indian, is perhaps an exception to the rule that women anthropologists neglected to examine the woman's role for she gives a more substantive treatment in her book, The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe, of the changing roles of women in their acculturating societies (1932). This work, which contains a guide for the investigation of women's roles, is frequently overlooked by students of North American Indian cultures.

While early anthropological reporting can be said to be deficient in its reporting of Indian females and their roles in their respective tribes, another very important and positive aspect of American anthropology was being developed. Through the influence of Franz Boas, who both interested and contacted Native people concerning the scope of anthropology and the examination of their own cultures, many Native people became recorders of and for their people. As a result some of the data from early ethnological field work evidences a decided "Indian input," to use a greatly overworked term. It is unfortunate that the ethnographic and cultural data derived from these early Native writers is seldom utilized in "relevant" and current Indian educational programs. The legacy of the rare anthropologist working with a Native colleague, which Margaret Mead mentions in Anthropology and the

American Indian (1973) is seldom given much notice either. Similarly, the history of Indian-White relations in the early days of reservation life has never been fully evaluated or described.

During this period, Indians were seen as conquered savages to be herded onto reservations. Their entire culture with its language, world view, and religion, were denigrated, despised, and outlawed. Despite this, one is able to obtain fleeting glimpses of the relationships between anthropologist and Indian in such accounts as "Ohnain ewk, Eskimo Hunter" by Edmund Carpenter; "My Crow Interpreter" by Robert H. Lowie; "A Navaho Politician" by Clyde Kluckhohn; "John Mink, Ojibwa Informant" by Joseph B. Casagrande; "A Pueblo G. I." by John Adair; "A Seminole Medicine Maker" by William C. Sturtevant (Casagrande, J. B., ed., 1960). The latter collection of field experiences also includes a section by William N. Fenton, "Return to the Longhouse" which details Fenton's work with the Seneca. These encounters are not without humor as seen in Susie Yellow Tail's (Crow) indignant description of ethnography as "Indian Joke Books." These field work accounts, in which the investigators reminisce about their relations with Indians, reveal the human allegiances and warmth that often characterize their interactions. One can get some sense of this interaction in the portrait of the female anthropologist, Alice C. Fletcher, among the Omaha in 1881:

> "She visited the Indians in their homes and began to make friends with them. At first, they were not disposed to talk, but after a time it occurred to one to ask: "Why are you here?" She replied: "I came to learn, if you will let me, some things about your tribal organization, social customs, tribal rites, traditions and songs. Also to see if I can help you in any way."
>
> At the suggestion of help, the faces of the Indians brightened with hope. The Indian continued: "You have come at a time when we are in distress. We have learned that the 'land paper' given us by the Great Father does not make us secure in our homes; that

> we could be ousted and driven to Indian territory as the Poncas were. We want a 'strong paper.' We are told that we can get one through an Act of Congress. Can you help us?" (Lurie, in Helm, ed., 1966)

These records of the early ethnographers who saw Indian life-styles as worthwhile and worthy of being preserved as ethnographies can never be valued highly enough.

One of the early Native ethnologists was John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt, a part Tuscarora Indian, who was introduced to the field of ethnology by Erminnie Smith. He worked for many years at the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. His work on the Iroquoian groups is considerable and far-ranging.[1]

Other valuable material gathered by Native anthropologists can be found in the work of Arthur Caswell Parker, a Seneca, who worked for years at the State Museum in Buffalo, New York, and wrote about his people (Parker, 1926, 1967). A more recent publication by another Seneca anthropologist, George Abrams, is The Seneca People (1976) published by the Indian Tribal Series, Phoenix, Arizona.

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[1] The Bureau of American Ethnology Reports contain information of value for most tribal groups. The collection of data on the various tribes would give a varied view of Indian-White relationships. Native American women, especially young college students, frequently express the sad fact (from their viewpoint) that most Native men seem to prefer non-Indian women. A fascinating account of the wife of an early field ethnologist, White, employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology, who fell in love with and married a Chemehuevi male may be found in Carobeth Laird's Encounter with an Angry God, Banning California: Malki Museum Press, 1975. (The Malki Museum Press is an Indian publishing house.) This account shows a long history of the attraction of Indian males to non-Native females. Conversely, the attraction which Indian women had, besides survival value, for European men is well documented in O'Meara's Daughters of the Country. Sylvia Gronewold's contribution to Kimball and Watson's Crossing Cultural Boundaries entitled "Did Frank Hamilton Cushing go Native?" presents aspects of "Zunification" of an early ethnographer.

While doing field work at the Pacific Northwest, Franz Boas, himself, encountered and ensnared the Kwaiutl Native men, George Hunt and Dan Cranmer, who collected linguistic texts and folklorist materials for the "father of American anthropology."

Instances of linguistic collaboration with Native Americans produced many products from the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University at which Boas was a professor. An example of linguistic training for Native American scholars of that period can be seen in the work of Archie Phinney, a Nez Perce. His publication Nez Perce Texts (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XXV, 1934) is referenced in the recent Nu Mee Poom Tit Wah Tit (Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho, 1972) which is an excellent book, written by tribal members, on the history and culture of this tribe in the Plateau culture area.

The professional patronage and colleagueship of Boas influenced Ella Deloria to produce, in collaboration with Boas, a grammer of a Native Siouan language (Boas and Deloria, 1941). This led Ella Deloria to other linguistic and ethnological writing. Her book, Speaking of Indians (1941) is a functional and charming analysis of a "Scheme of Life that Worked" among the Lakota people. Her analysis of cultural adaptation on Standing Rock Reservation is enlightening, and the treatment of kinship as a pervasive, continuing strength in Sioux identity is well presented.

The relationship of anthropologist and Indian has not, however, always been a positive one. Anthropologists have been periodically viewed with scorn and suspicion; sentiments which are very much evident in Vine Deloria's sketch of the anthropologist, written during that time of protest and confrontation, the 1960's:

> "'They' are the anthropologists. Social anthropologists, historical political anthropologists, economic anthropologists, all brands of the species, embark on the great summer adventure. For purposes of this discussion we shall refer only to the generic name, anthropologists. They are the most prominent members of the scholarly community that infests the land of the free, and in the summer time, the homes of the braves... While their historical precedent is uncertain, anthropologists can readily be identified on the reservations. Go into any crowd of people. Pick out a tall, gaunt white man wearing Burmuda shorts, a World War II Army Air Force flying jacket, an Australian bush hat, tennis shoes, and packing a large knapsack incorrectly strapped to his back. He will invariably have a thin, sexy wife with stringy hair, an IQ of 191, and a vocabulary in which even the prepositions have eleven syllables.
>
> He usually has a camera, tape recorder, telescope, hoola hoop, and life jacket all hanging from his elongated frame. He rarely has a pen, pencil, chisel, stylus, stick, paint brush, or instrument to record his observations.
>
> This creature is an anthropologist." (Vine Deloria, Jr., 1969)

Perhaps female anthropologists should be grateful that they are not part of this native typology or perhaps Vine Deloria, Jr. did not have sufficient empirical evidence to portray the female of the anthropological species. Be that as it may, the foregoing description has been the rallying cry for many tribal communities and militant groups since the original description appeared in Playboy, August, 1969, and later in Deloria's book, Custer Died for Your Sins (1969).

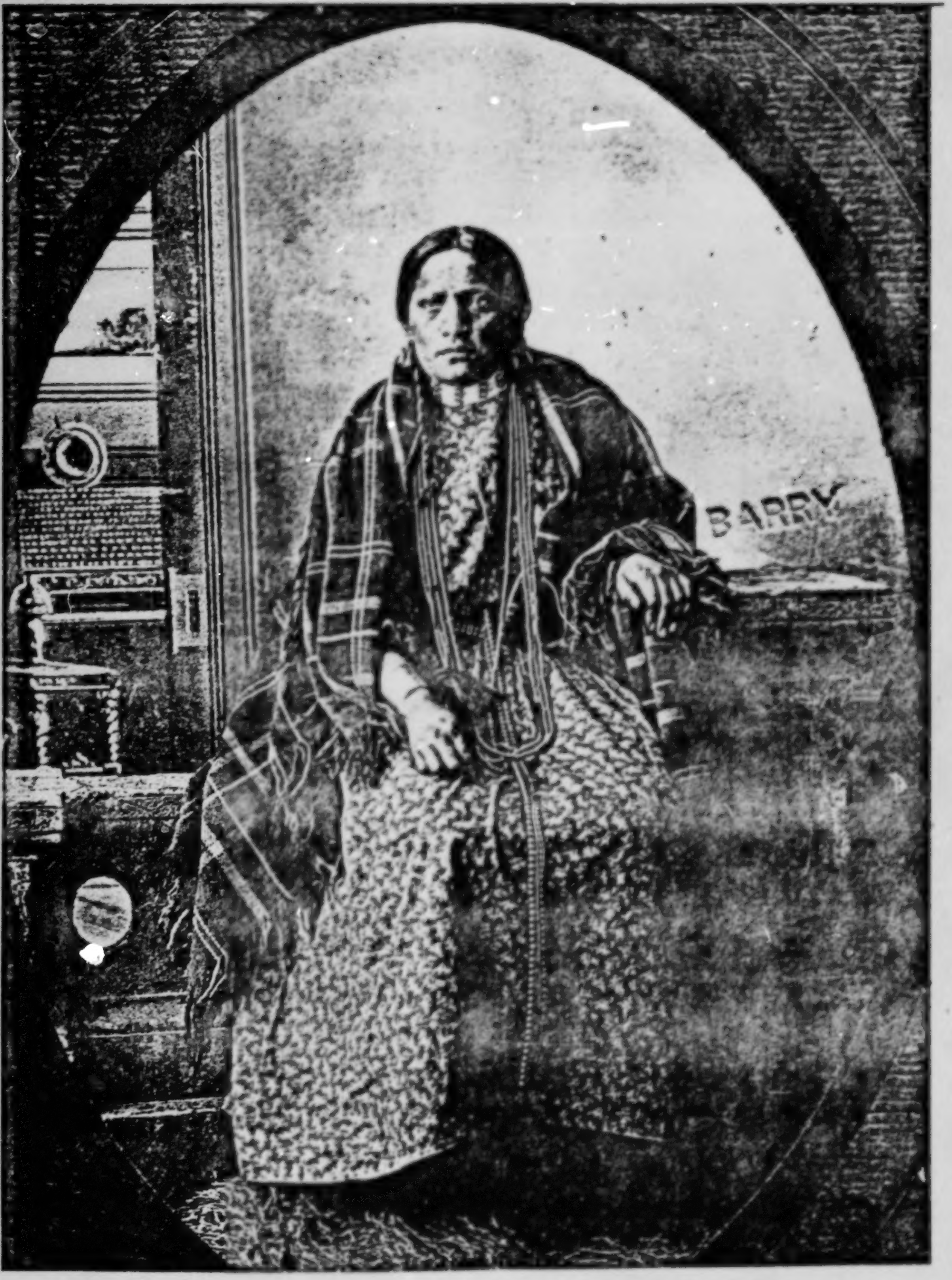
More recently, the Dakota folk singer, Floyd Westerman in his song "Here Comes the Anthros" condemns those social scientists thought by Native groups to "rip-off" Native communities and become rich.

But whatever the view concerning the anthropologist, whether positive or negative, one factor remains constant: ethnologies of Native Americans, even those written by Native male anthropologists, fail to sketch in any great detail the female role so important in these matrilineal societies. It is obvious that male bias in anthropological reporting cannot be attributed to White males only!

I have tried to identify the male bias in many Native ethnographies towards Native women. If I be allowed to extrapolate from the sentiments of Indian men in my, and succeeding generations, it was not a deliberate misogynistic bias in Native men that made them depict Native women in an unattractive light. Put in historical perspective, the male bias in anthropological collecting can be seen simply as reflecting the androcentric interests of Indian men.

I have also sought to emphasize that to examine the place of women in Native American societies, one must be willing to dig into the ethnographic literature to form a picture of the female in a tribal setting. They should not, however, be pictured as statues "frozen in ecological domains and social systems" as D'Arcy McNickle, Blackfoot anthropologist, writes (1970), forever unchanging, and unevolving.

Despite these limitations, the role of Native women did not go entirely unrecorded, for those early days of anthropologist and Indian interaction, when the ethnologists often validated their interest in Native life ways by saying "We came here to learn" or "We want to record the way you live so that your grandchildren will have this knowledge," resulted in data being recorded from which one is able to determine the differential role of males and females in the "old days." From the varieties of studies done on the Native tribes in North America, one is able to ferret out the activities of women in the "ethnographic present." If anthropologists have done nothing else, they have collected cultural materials which form a basis for cross-cultural comparisons of the women's role in autochthonous societies. Therefore, in spite of all the limitations, deficiencies, and scarcities, it is to anthropological writings, whatever the quality and nature of the interaction that one must go for information about Native American female prototypes. As accounts, these are to be preferred to historical writings for the latter are often more derogatory and biased than the former concerning the status and role of the Native American female in North America.



Photograph by Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution,
National Anthropological Archives,
Bureau of American Ethnology Collection
WIFE OF LOUIS, Sitting Bull's son
Copy from photograph by Barry, loaned to the B.A.E.
by Representative Usher L. Burdick, North Dakota, Feb. 1937

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN IN ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

The task of presenting a complete portrait of the Native American woman is both awesome and impossible, for no matter what is presented, some Native American female will state, "But that is not true in my tribe." Notwithstanding, this work was not conceived as the definitive portrait of the Native American woman, but rather as a means by which the reader will see the Native American woman as a distinctive and viable being. It was also conceived to prevent people from falling into the ethnographic trap of viewing the Native woman's rich, role variations as but more examples of "the poor, primitive Indian woman of burdenstrap and basket, of buffalo skin scraper and digging stick." Previous works which purportedly deal comprehensively with Native American women (Terrell and Terrell, 1974; Niethammer, 1977) take scattered approaches to the lives of indigenous women and tend to emphasize the bizarre aspects of Native American females and their lifestyles. They fail to accurately depict the world of Indian women, the drudgery, the joys, the prestige, the status, and the love which accrued to them because of the fulfillment of these roles. When viewed from this light, one gains a new appreciation of the Indian female.

It is important to understand that contemporary Native American women of all tribes are as variable and vital in their respective tribal societies as they were before the European invasion of their specific tribal homelands. The dangers of believing that ethnographic accounts of Indian Women's lives duplicate in every way their present lifestyle is great. It is, needless to say, completely unrealistic to expect personality traits to remain unchanged. To do so would be to commit the gross error which is ascribed to non-Indians, that is, one's comprehension would be as false as if one believed that the Ojibwa still lived in wigwams. This holds true, also, for those Indians who speak of "the Indian way" for it places them in the same category of stereotyping for which they often castigate the non-Indian.

On the other hand, there are undoubtedly residual persistences which allow Natives to be Lakota (Sioux), a Seneca, or a Navajo and maintain their own unique manifestations of tribalness. This retention and belief in one's own tribal ways often forms the basis for an Indian's own ethnocentrism and his firm intuitive belief that his own tribe is somehow better than any other tribe. Hallowell's writings reveal this interesting persistence of personality configurations especially among the Ojibwa, who are also referred to as Chippewa and, more recently, in their language as Anishinabe Indians.

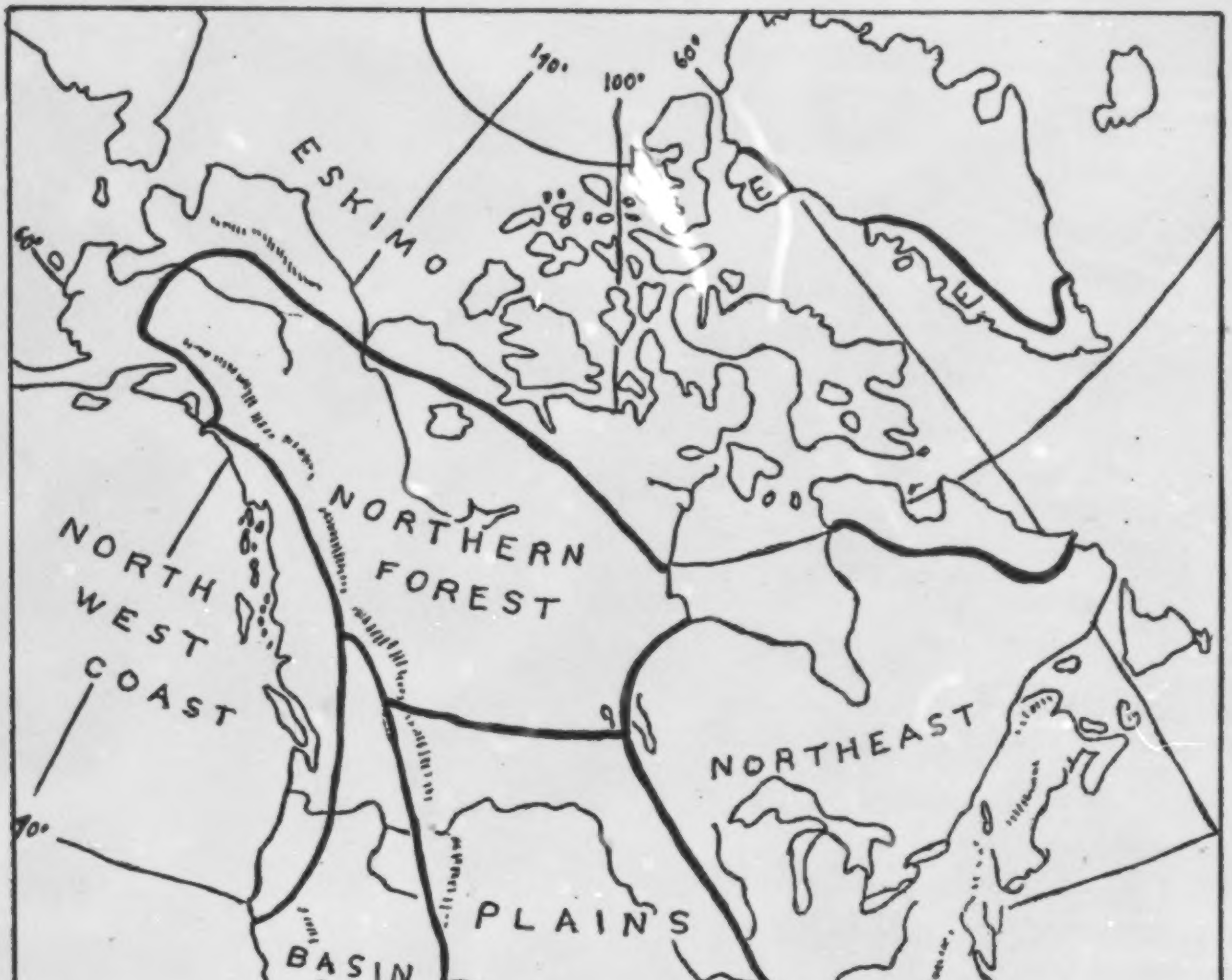
Anthropology deals with these factors of cultural change and cultural persistence, and it is from the study of ethnographic accounts of Native American culture that one can proceed to understand women's place in their Native societies.

Of first concern should be the social systems into which tribes are organized, for each society is composed of people who act in patterned ways. Interpersonal relationships are more or less organized into a formal kinship structure, and to understand Native Americans in their respective societies, it is necessary to understand the distinctive social organizational features of a Native group for these accentuate tribal differences and demonstrate that the family type, the kinship structure, also the terminology, and the marriage preferences are functional prerequisites to insure the smooth operating of that society.

When looking at a tribal group, it is of importance that the socio-cultural background of each tribal group be salient and clearly defined. The appreciation of the culture area concept in this instance is an adequate heuristic device (see map). This device offers a means of placing a tribe within a geographic area which gives some indication of the ecological niche in which the group did and does operate, that is, if the tribe were not forcibly removed. A tragic example of this was the removal of the Cherokee from the Southeast to Oklahoma Indian Territory via the "Trail of Tears."

Because Native American groups did not exist in a vacuum but interacted in either a peaceful or warlike manner with other groups of Indians, one becomes aware of adaptations to demographic and environmental variables which resulted from this interaction.

It is also well to know the linguistic stock of the tribal group being considered, for much of the culture-world view; the value imperatives; the expressive elements in songs, music, mythology, and folklore; and the cosmological and ethical systems, among other things, are transmitted through language. This information can be extremely helpful although, at the present time, the prohibition about speaking Native tongues had produced a tremendous variance in linguistic abilities in tribes. A knowledge of a respective tribe's language has value, if for no other reason than it reveals the tremendous linguistic variations among the Native tribes. However, language does not determine cultural diversity, and one has only to look at one language stock Athapaskan, for example, to determine that fact. It is also possible to point to the Tlingit in the Northwest Coast culture area, the Hupa in California, the Sarcee on the Northern Plains, and the Navajo and the Apache in the Southwest.



From Introducing Culture; by Ernest L. Schusky
, and T. Patrick Culbert; Prentice-Hall, 1967; p. 105.

The adaptive strategies which allowed Native Americans to survive before the onslaught of superimposed and directed change are another important area which should be examined. This is not to gainsay that change is not continuous in most societies but in most instances it was not coerced as it was with North American Indians. These strategies can be seen in the adoption of such materials and things as the horse, the gun, the cast iron and brass kettle, glass beads, the metal awl and thimble, although often-times the thimble was used as a decorative item. The utilization of such material items shows a technologically based selection process which is recorded over and over in historical and ethnographical accounts. However, overt acceptances of visual items should not overshadow the enduring elements which have allowed Native lifestyles and world views to remain basically Native.

While all these broader categories aid in the understanding of Native American society, a more explicit and particular view is needed to understand the various roles and statuses which women occupied in their life cycles in Native cultures. To understand the processes by which females become functioning members of these distinct societies, one needs to assess the categories of "becoming" which produced a female in a particular tribal group. The examination of ceremonial and religious life, combined with other elements of expressive culture provide a means to determine the different functions each Native American played, based on gender. World view varies with the period and time and this is often reflected in the ideals, the assumptions, the statuses and the expectations of the male and female. The interplay of "ideal" as contrasted to "real" culture, the structural organization of the Native tribe; the type of family and kinship network; the patterns of socialization or child training practices; the belief systems; and the values, explicit and implicit, of the unique tribal group accounted for the variation in women's place within each culture. An understanding of these categories is the most important key which enables one to appreciate and to compare the lives of Native women, both past and present.

It is within this contextual cultural framework that one is able to comprehend the different tribal backgrounds and the exceedingly unique features of becomingness. Becoming, being, and remaining female are aspects of socialization or enculturation which make a female a part of a cultural group and yet allows her to remain an actualized individual woman.

Learning to be a person is a process of becoming. It is based upon gender difference and is part of the training practices for children peculiar to each tribal aggregate. The very essence of being an Anishinabe (Ojibwa, Chippewa), a Dine (Navajo), a Lakota (Sioux) or any of the other tribes of North America depended upon the careful nurturing of personhood in the tribal group. Processes of becoming, being, transmitting and allowing alternatives for differing from the accepted cultural norm of each tribal group accounted for the distinctiveness of aboriginal entities. These patterns of life, with adaptations which permitted cultures to survive in a modified form, can be seen in the viable and vibrant cultures of North American tribes today.

Child training practices were mainly within the province of females. It was through them that the value orientations and the belief systems which permeate interpersonal relationships were transmitted. It is this area of social interaction that was guarded jealously. Surprisingly, the social sphere of family and kin was one aspect into which members of the dominant society, for whatever reason, seldom intruded. Those Indians who maintained their culture within familial spheres were referred to in early days by some tribal contemporaries and non-Indians, as "hard core" or "hostiles," "blanket," "pagan," and "unreconstructed." Later they were seen as change agents, Indian agents, missionaries, and teachers. They were, probably to a large degree, responsible for the living and distinctive tribal features of each Native group.

One approach to scrutinizing the lives of women has been that such rites of passage as birth, menarche, marriage, menopause, and death, can be used as discrete categories. These liminal points in a female's life are of great moment, not only to her but to members of her group. The Kinaalda puberty rite for Navajo maidens or the nai'es ("preparing her" or "getting her ready") ceremony for Cibecue Apache female adolescents are dramatic transition rites in which the child moves into the specialized roles of a woman capable of being fertilized and transformed into a mother who can then become a transmitter of her cultural heritage. Female transition rites are often ritualized and firmly imprints the status change in the mind of the main participant.

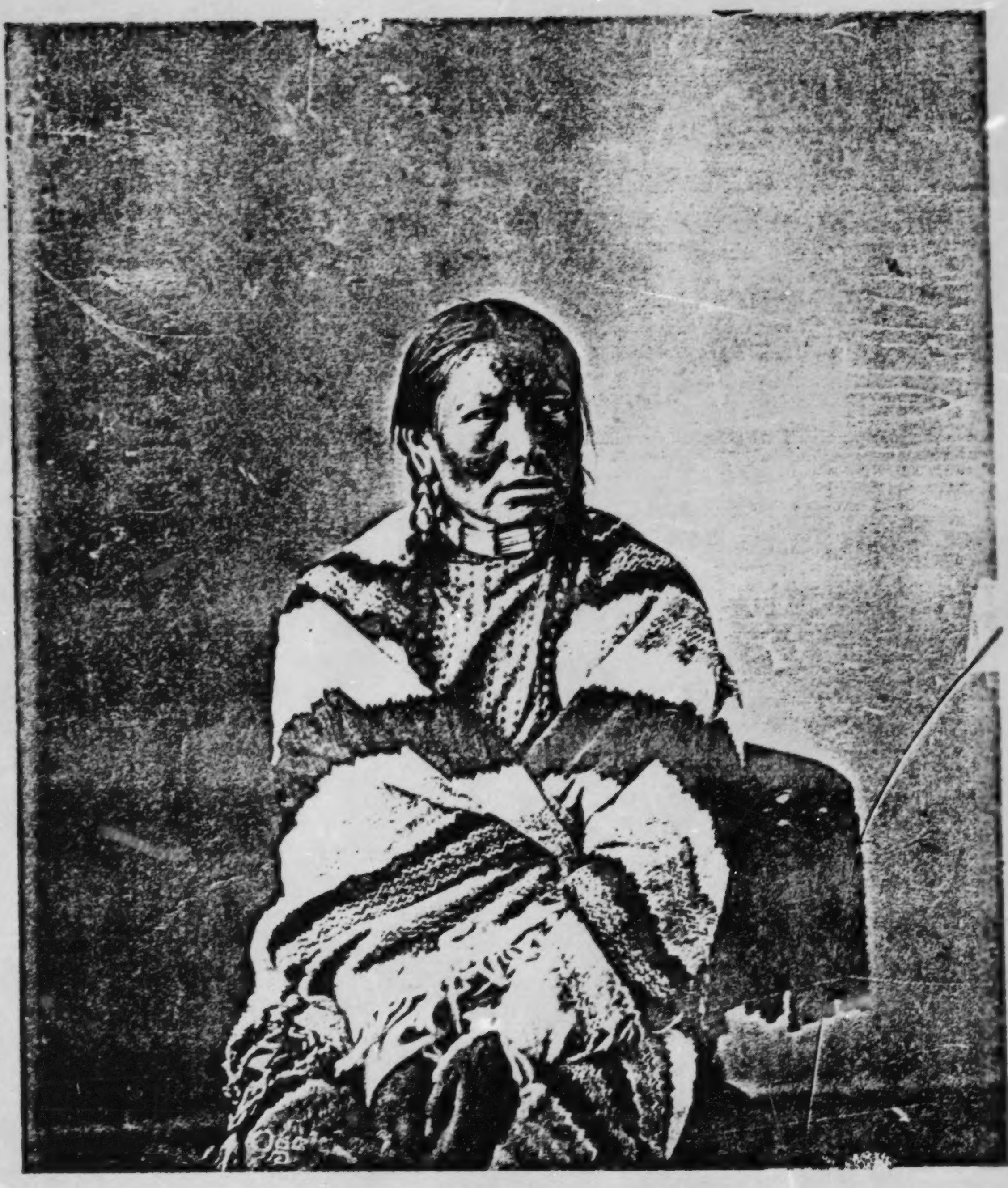
Another category by which Native women can be examined in their respective societies is through the "women's work" with which they have been traditionally identified. These roles include: procreating families and transmitting to them their value orientations; daily home-keeping chores, economic pursuits, and performing activities which are specific to role occupancy such as ceremonial participant, curer, healer, and innovator. These are all parts of the female's experiences and form a focus to interest women in most non-western cultures. These present guideposts for appreciation to these diverse tribal women.

In looking at these various functions of Native women in their societies, one is better able to answer such questions as: What were the "primitive red mother's" view of her children? What were the distinctive views of females towards males and vice versa in these pre-contact groups? It is vital to make the distinction between the pre-contact period. The post-contact period for the Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Russian immigrants impacted differentially upon the specific Native societies which they encountered in the various areas of North America. This collision of new lifestyles reflected the national character of the individual conqueror. What views from this pre-contact and post-contact time have persisted in contemporary societies? How has the Christianized view of male and female relationships been syncretized in the culture contact situation? How did women relate to "power," that omnipresent supernatural force which is so vital in Native societies, termed orenda among the Iroquoian-speakers, wakan among the Siouan speakers, and manitou among the Algonkian speakers? These and other queries deriving from the cultural backgrounds of women need critical examination if one is to fully understand their places in life.

Love relationships in all its many faceted manifestations provide another means by which the Native American woman can be understood. The delicate dyadic relationships which a female had with her father; her brother ("brother" might have different connotations within each tribe); her male relatives, consanguinal and affinal; her lovers; her husband(s); her grandfathers; and her nephews all add to one's understanding of her place within the cultural background of her tribe. Political and economic features of a culture distinguish sex roles and put them into a perspective which enhances the understanding of the roles of women and men.

When presented to show the regulating function of such things as sororal polygyny in the Plains, for example, the practice is lifted from the bizarre realm and does much to promote cross-cultural understanding. The same can be said of cross-cousin marriage preference and the exchange of economic goods for women in certain courtship and marriage expectations. Even an examination of that obverse side of love, deviance, aids comprehension. There is little information in the ethnographic literature about the female deviant or the rejection of the feminine role as it is defined by a particular group. Descriptions of female behavior involving adultery, abortion, incest, divorce, child abuse, homosexuality, and just plain laziness, are neglected. But most of these, with the possible exception of child abuse, had a place in Native American cultures. One needs to understand deviancy in these societies. What was the personality configuration of the Iroquois women who participated in the various sodalities which allowed dreaming to validate deviant behavior? How was dreaming actualized in Lakota culture? Was it a correlate to the vision quest of men? How was abortion dealt with among the Cheyenne? How was a highly sexed or promiscuous woman allowed to gratify her preferences, if indeed, she was? How was a woman in a sexually permissive society allowed to reject this standard if, indeed, she was?

In all this, the distinctive features of a Native American women's life have been stressed. It would, however, be a disservice to Native women not to stress the fact that there is a body of common experience which bind all women, not just Native women, together.



Photograph by Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution,
National Anthropological Archives,
Bureau of American Ethnology Collection
WHITE HAWK, wife of Big Foot
By Alexander Gardner, Washington, D. C., 1872.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

While Native American men and women have directed their wrath, with frequent justification, against anthropologists, historians have not come into their same deserved share of condemnation. Anthropologists have tended to have a direct, face-to-face interaction with indigenous peoples, for anthropology focuses upon cultures as functioning social systems and strongly emphasizes field work when dealing with cultures outside the Western European experience. This generally involved being a participant-observer in other societies in which there are strong oral traditions.

History, on the other hand, uses an approach which is tied to historiography and the use of recorded sources and documentation via the printed word. This reliance on the written word tends to make the historian intolerant of other potential sources of information. This intolerance was painfully apparent when tribal historians from the Southern Ute and Nez Perce tribes presented their views on work in Indian history at the annual meeting of the American Historical Society in 1974. Many distinguished historians reacted negatively and patronizingly to these reports. Some "walked out" in disdain. It is thus, not unexpected, that the historian who depends upon the written document, presents a more unattractive portrait of the Indian woman than does the anthropologist who has more personalized contacts with his subject.

The following excerpt is just such an unflattering source which purports to be history and from which the historian draws his material. For the historian, it would have veracity since it is documented, but for many contemporary Indian feminists in the Woman's Movement, such accounts suggest a need for a compensating "herstory."

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Document 15

"They Never Love beyond Retrieving"

In 1709, John Lawson, gentleman and surveyor, published in London his history of North Carolina under the title *A New Voyage to Carolina*. Two years later, while on a surveying expedition in the Indian country, he was seized by the jealous Indians and put to death. His knowledge and understanding of the Indians is evident in the following passage concerning the women he knew in his travels among the native villages of North Carolina. The passage is taken from Lawson's *History of North Carolina: containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country, together with the present state thereof and a Journal of a Thousand Miles Traveled through several Nations of Indians, giving a Particular Account of their Customs, Manners, etc*., taken from the London edition of 1714, and edited by Frances Latham Harriss, pp. 194-99 (Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, 1937, reprinted 1952).

As for the Indian Women which now happen in my Way, when young, and at Maturity, they are as fine shaped Creatures, (take them generally,) as any in the Universe. They are of a tawny Complexion, their Eyes very brisk and amorous, their Smiles afford the finest Composure a Face can possess, their Hands are of the finest Make, with small, long Fingers, and as soft as their Cheeks, and their whole Bodies of a smooth Nature. They are not so uncouth or unlikely as we suppose them, nor are they Stranger or not Proficients in the soft Passion. They are, most of them, mercenary, except the married Women, who sometimes bestow their Favours also to some or other, in their Husband's Absence; for which they never ask any Reward. As for the Report, that they are never found unconstant, like the Europeans, it is wholly false; for were the old World and the new one put into a Pair of Scales (in point of constancy) it would be a hard Matter to discern which was the heavier. As for the Trading Girls, which are those designed to get Money by their Natural Parts, these are discernable by the Cut of their Hair; their tonsure differing from all others of that Nation, who are not of their Profession, which Method is intended to prevent Mistakes; for the Savages of America are desirous (if possible) to keep their Wives to themselves, as well as those in other Parts of the World. When any Addresses are made to one of these Girls, she immediately acquaints her Parents therewith, and they tell the King of it, (provided he that courts her be a Stranger) his Majesty commonly being the principal Bawd of the Nation he rules over, and there seldom being any of these Winchester-Weddings agreed on without his Royal Consent. He likewise advises her what Bargain to make, and if it happens to be an Indian Trader that wants a Bed-fellow and has got Rum to sell, be sure the King must have a large Dram for a Fee to confirm the Match. These Indians that are of the elder sort, when any such Question is put to them, will debate the Matter amongst themselves with all the Sobriety and Seriousness imaginable, every one of the Girl's Relations arguing the Advantage or Detriment that may ensue such a Night's Encounter; all which is done with as much Steadiness and Reality as if it was the greatest Concern in the World, and not so much as one Person shall be seen to smile, so long as the Debate holds, making no Difference betwixt an Agreement of this Nature and a Bargain of any other. If they comply with the Men's Desire, then a particular Bed is provided for them, either in a Cabin by themselves or else all the young people turn out to another Lodging, that they may not spoil Sport, and if the old People are in the same Cabin along with them all Night, they lie as unconcerned as if they were so many Logs of Wood. If it be an Indian of their own Town or Neighborhood, that wants a Mistress, he comes to none but the Girl, who receives what she thinks fit to ask him, and so lies all Night with him, without the Consent of her Parents.

The Indian Traders are those which travel and abide amongst the Indians for a long space of time; sometimes for a Year, two, or three. These Men have commonly their Indian Wives, whereby they soon learn the Indian Tongue, keep a Friendship with the Savages; and, besides the Satisfaction of a She-Bed-Fellow, they find these Indian Girls very serviceable to them, on Account of dressing their Victuals, and instructing them in the Affairs and Customs of the Country. Moreover, such a Man gets a great Trade with the Savages; for when a Person that lives amongst them, is reserved from the Conversation of their Women, tis impossible for him ever to accomplish his Designs amongst that People.

But one great Misfortune which often times attends those that converse with these Savage Women, is, that they get Children by them, which are seldom educated any otherwise than in a State of Infidelity; for it is a certain Rule and Custom, amongst all the Savages of America, that I was ever acquainted withal, to let the Children always fall to the Woman's Lot; for it often happens, that two Indians that have lived together, as Man and Wife, in which Time they have had several Children; if they part, and another Man possess her, all the Children go along with the Mother, and none with the Father. And therefore, on this Score it ever seems impossible for the Christians to get their Children (which they have by these Indian Women) away from them; whereby they might bring them up in the Knowledge of the Christian Principles. Nevertheless, we often find, that English Men, and other Europeans that have been accustomed to the Conversation of these

Savage Women and their Way of Living, have been so allured with that careless sort of Life, as to be constant to their Indian Wife, and her Relations, so long as they lived, without ever desiring to return again amongst the English, although they had very fair Opportunities of Advantages amongst their Countrymen; of which sort I have known several.

As for the Indian Marriages, I have read and heard of a great deal of Form and Ceremony used, which I never saw; nor yet could learn in the Time I have been amongst them, any otherwise than I shall here give you an Account of, which is as follows:

When any young Indian has a Mind for such a Girl to his Wife, he, or some one for him, goes to the young Woman's Parents, if living; if not, to her nearest Relations, where they make Offers of the Match betwixt the Couple. The Relations reply, they will consider of it; which serves for a sufficient Answer, till there by a second Meeting about the Marriage, which is generally brought into Debate before all the Relations, (that are old People) on both Sides, and sometimes the King with all his great Men, give their Opinions therein. If it be agreed on, and the young Woman approve thereof, (for these Savages never give their Children in Marriage without their own Consent) the Man pays so much for his Wife; and the handsomer she is the greater Price she bears. Now, it often happens, that the Man has not so much of their Money ready as he is to pay for his Wife; but if they know him to be a good Hunter, and that he can raise the Sum agreed for, in some few Moons, or any little time they agree, she shall go along with him as betrothed, but he is not to have any Knowledge of her till the utmost Payment is discharged; all which is punctually observed. Thus they lie together under one Covering for several Months, and the Woman remains the same as she was when she first came to him. I doubt our Europeans would be apt to break this Custom, but the Indian Men are not so vigorous and impatient in their Love as we are. Yet the Women are quite contrary, and those Indian Girls that have conversed with the English and other Europeans, never care for the Conversation of their own Countrymen afterwards.

They never marry so near as a first Cousin, and although there is nothing more coveted amongst them than to marry a Woman of their own Nation, yet when the Nation consists of a very few People, (as nowadays it often happens) so that they are all of them related to one another, then they look out for Husbands and Wives amongst Strangers. For if an Indian lies with his Sister, or any very near Relation, his Body is burnt, and his Ashes thrown into the River, as unworthy to remain on Earth; yet an Indian is allowed to marry two Sisters, or his Brother's Wife. Although these People are called Savages, yet Sodomy is never heard of amongst them, and they are so far from the Practice of that beastly and loathsome Sin, that they have no Name for it in their Language.

The Marriages of these Indians are no farther binding than the Man and Woman agree Together. Either of them has Liberty to leave the other upon any frivolous Excuse they can make, yet whosoever takes the Woman that was another Man's before, and bought by him, as they all are, must certainly pay to her former Husband whatsoever he gave for her. Nay, if she be a Widow, and her Husband died in Debt, whosoever takes her to Wife pays all her Husband's Obligations, though never so many; yet the Woman is not required to pay anything, (unless, she is willing) that was owing from her Husband, so long as she keeps Single. But if a Man courts her for a Night's Lodging and obtains it, the Creditors will make him pay her Husband's Debts, and he may, if he will take her for his Money, or sell her to another for his Wife. I have seen several of these Bargains driven in a day; for you may see Men selling their Wives as Men do Horses in a Fair, a Man being allowed not only to change as often as he pleases, but likewise to have as many Wives as he is able to maintain. I have often seen that very old Indian Men, (that have been Grandees in their own Nation) have had three or four very likely young Indian Wives, which I have much wondered at, because, to me, they seemed incapacitated to make good Use of one of them.

The young Men will go in the Night from one House to another to visit the young Women, in which sort of Rambles they will spend the whole Night. In their Addresses they find no Delays, for if she is willing to entertain the Man, she gives him Encouragement and grants him Admittance; otherwise she withdraws her Face from him, and says, I cannot see you, either you or I must leave this Cabin and sleep somewhere else this Night.

They are never to boast of their Intrigues with the Women. If they do, none of the Girls value them ever after, or admit of their Company in their Beds. This proceeds not on the score of Reputation, for there is no such thing, (on that account) known amongst them; and although we may reckon them the greatest Libertines and most extravagant in their Embraces, yet they retain and possess a Modesty that requires those Passions never to be divulged.

The Trading Girls, after they have led that Course of Life, for several Years, in which time they scarce ever have a Child; (for they have an Art to destroy the Conception, and she that brings a Child in this Station, is accounted a Fool, and her Reputation is lessened thereby) at last they grow weary of so many, and betake themselves to a married State, or to the Company of one Man; neither does their having been common to so many any wise lessen their Fortunes, but rather augment them.

The Woman is not punished for Adultery, but tis the Man that makes the injured Person Satisfaction, which is the Law of Nations practised amongst them all; and he that strives to evade such Satisfaction as the Husband demands, lives daily in Danger of his Life; yet when discharged, all Animosity is laid aside, and the Cuckold is very well pleased with his Bargain, whilst the Rival is laughed at by the whole Nation, for carrying on his intrigue with no better Conduct, than to be discovered and pay so dear for his Pleasure.

The Indians say, that the Woman is a weak Creature, and easily drawn away by the Man's Persuasion; for which Reason, they lay no Blame upon her, but the Man (that ought to be Master of his Passion) for persuading her to it.

They are of a very hale Constitution; their Breaths are as Sweet as the Air they breathe in, and the Woman seems to be of that tender Composition, as if they were designed rather for the Bed than Bondage. Yet their Love is never of that Force and Continuance, that any of them ever runs Mad, or makes away with themselves on that score. They never love beyond Retrieving their first Indifferency, and when slighted, are as ready to untie the Knot at one end, as you are at the other.

Yet I knew an European Man that had a Child or two by one of these Indian Women, and afterwards married a Christian, after which he came to pass away a Night with his Indian Mistress; but she made Answer that she then had forgot she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband, so fell a crying and took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin (away from him) in great Disorder.

This degrading and derogatory view of Indian women can be seen repeatedly in historical accounts. Exploitation of Indian women by "men of the frontier" is shown frequently in such historical narratives. This is particularly true of books such as O'Meara's Daughters of the Country (1968). This book popularizes and perpetuates the sensational aspects of intimacy between Native women and Euro-American men, and in some cases African men, on the North American frontier. It can be compared to the popular novel, The Man Who Loved Cat Dancing by Marilyn Durham (1972) which subsequently became a movie.

Undeniably economic, sexual, and social interchanges between White men and Native women occurred. These interactions were for both groups prevalent and profitable. This can be seen in a famous historian's, William T. Hagen, account of Oglethorpe and his interaction with the Creeks.

> "Farther south, Georgia's early Indian relations were relatively painless owing to Oglethorpe's prestige with the Creeks. Recognizing the power of this tribe he courted their favor through Mary, a half-blood Creek woman who married successively a South Carolina trader, a Georgia militia officer, and a former Indian agent turned cleric. All of Mary's husbands, as well as Oglethorpe, profited from Mary's relation to the head of the Creek nation. These white men were not the first, nor the last, to use Indian marriages to further their economic and political objectives. Sentiment may have played a role in these connections, but it is interesting to note that white men usually contracted such liaisons with only close relatives of tribal leaders." (American Indians, 1961)

The time period to which Hagen refers is around the 1750's and is in an area which is not commonly identified as "Indian Country."*

Historically, the trappers and traders who had social interchange with Indian females were labeled with the heinous terms of "squaw" and "squaw man." "Squaw" was a term derived from the Algonkian language, spoken in the

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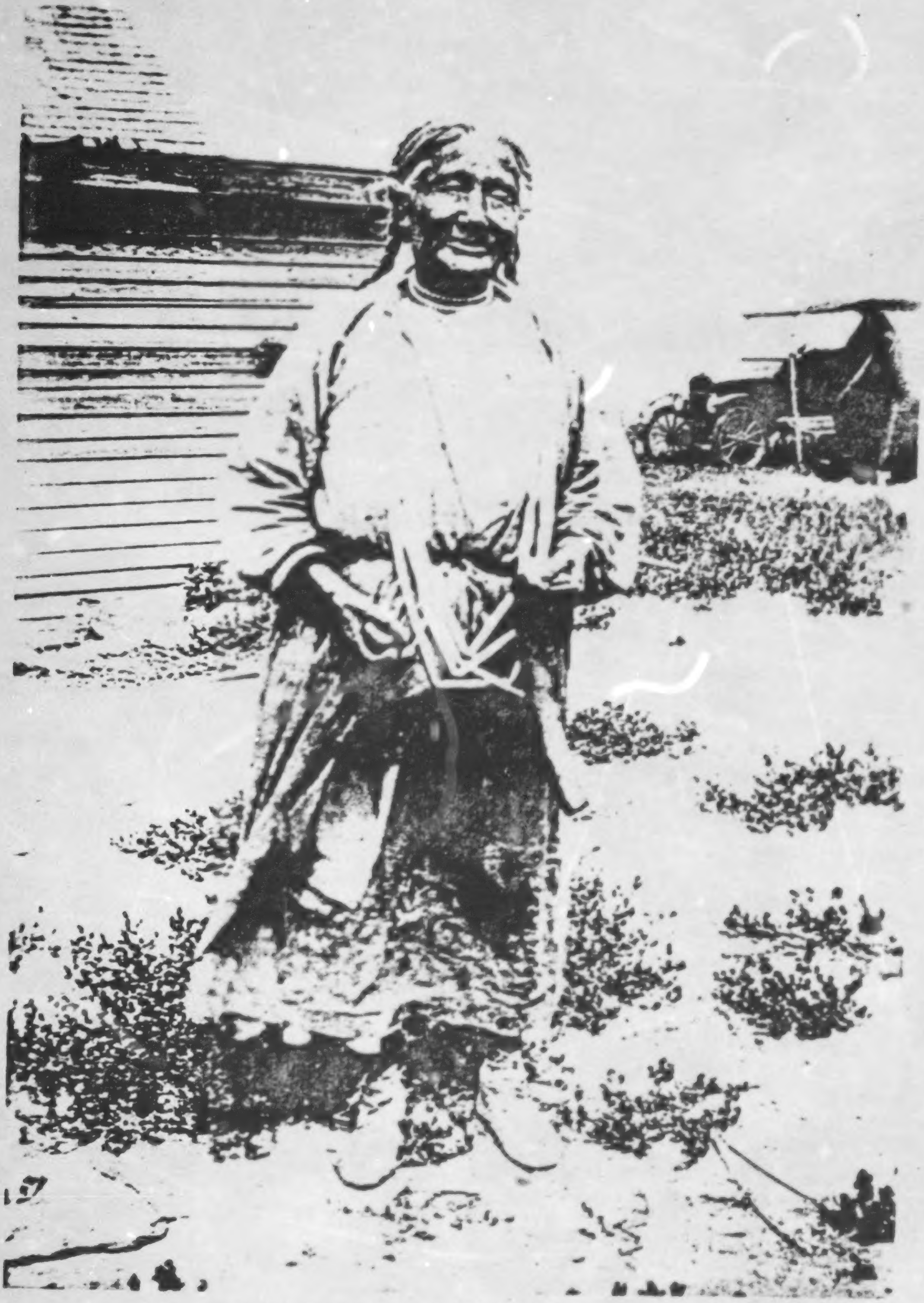
*The removal of the Five Civilized Tribes separated the original inhabitants from their country. This is often the case when one reads of the Indians east of the Mississippi River. Most people think of it as being devoid of Indian peoples.

Northeastern parts of the continent; these derogatory terms, however, were used throughout the continent' and persist in the present time.

It is an extremely rare historical account which gives a favorable or extensive view of the Native American woman or her role in her respective tribe. Historians even more than anthropologists have tended to focus on the bazarre and the spectacular in their accounts of Native American women.



Photograph by Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution,
National Anthropological Archives,
Bureau of American Ethnology Collection
STANDING WIND, a woman
Photographer and date unknown
Remarks: Note on original print says
"A girlhood chum of Chief Gall's."

CHAPTER IV

THE PLAIN'S NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN

When describing a male Plains Indian, a generally attractive image is drawn of a tall, handsome, bronzed person possessed of an imposing stoic demeanor, an aquiline nose, and high cheek bones. This person is seen attired in fringed white buckskin clothes and bedecked in a feathered head-dress of eagle feathers to denote his coups in battle or horse-stealing. His counterpart, the Plains Indian female, however, is not described in such generous terms.

E. Adamson Hoebel, a male anthropologist who did his field work among the Northern Cheyenne Indians in Montana in the early 1930's, is a prominent exception to the rule that anthropologists depicted Indian women negatively. His work presents a balanced view of the male and female relationships in a Native culture, a balance which is to be understood as explicit and implicit in Indian societies.

> "The Cheyenne Indians or Tistsistas, meaning "The People" are one of the most notable of the western tribes who inhabited the Great Plains, the open country lying west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains. They were famous among early travelers for the chastity of their women and the courage of their warriors; in later years, when everything was in change, they were considered the most conservative of the Plains Indians. Their attitudes toward sex and war, and toward the maintainence of their social order are the most outstanding features of their way of life." (Hoebel, 1960)

The Hoebel monograph is posed in the "ethnographic present," that is, the opening cultural system previous to the changes wrought by contact with various European civilizations. Hoebel's contribution concerning feminine roles, status, and prestige provides an excellent background for Michelson's The Narrative of a Southern Cheyenne Woman and Stands in Timber's statements concerning the changing status of women. It merits inclusion for it does much to counter the anthropological reporting of the "Native woman as drudge."

Since each tribe in North America reflected, to some extent, the life styles of their European conqueror, it is helpful to attempt to reconstruct the dynamic character of the Native societies prior to this time of contact, which was different for each tribe. This gives a basis for a life style and an ethos which, though not operative in the present day, offers a ground plan for ongoing systems of human behaviors, values, language, and kinship systems which account for the unique character of contemporary tribal entities. An account of Native cultures gives a basis for cross-cultural comparisons and analyses of sex roles in diverse groupings of contemporary tribes.

Hoebel, in the selection, allows us to see the various stages of the enculturational process whereby a Tistsistas child becomes a Cheyenne. The time period is roughly 1840-60. This section dwells on world view and personality structure and leads to discussions of the present-day Cheyenne and other Indians. This written account can be compared to oral history accounts of present-day societies in order to contrast the social changes in sex roles and the impact of Christianity and "civilization' on Native cultures.

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Reserved and Dignified, the adult Cheyenne male moves with a quiet sense of self-assurance. He speaks fluently, but never carelessly. He is careful of the sensibilities of others and is kindly and generous. He is slow to anger and strives to suppress his feelings, if aggravated. Vigorous on the hunt and in war, he prizes the active life. Towards enemies he feels no merciful compunctions, and the more aggressive he is, the better. He is well versed in ritual knowledge. He is neither flighty nor dour. Usually quiet, he has a lightly displayed sense of humor. He is sexually repressed and masochistic, but that masochism is expressed in culturally approved rites. He does not show much creative imagination in artistic expression, but he has a firm grip on reality. He deals with the problems of life in set ways while at the same time showing a notable capacity to readjust to new circumstances. His thinking is rationalistic to a high degree and yet colored with mysticism. His ego is strong and not easily threatened. His superego, as manifest in his strong social conscience and mastery of his basic impulses, is powerful and dominating. He is "mature"--serene and composed, secure in his social position, capable of warm social relations. He has powerful anxieties, but these are channeled into institutionalized modes of collective expression with satisfactory results. He exhibits few neurotic tendencies.

The typical grown-up Cheyenne woman exhibits much the same constellation of traits. Not having the direct outlet for aggressive impulses that men find in war, she is touchier in domestic relations and apt to be a bit willful within her family. Grinnell calls her "masterful." She is more artistically creative than the male, but still within prescribed limits. She is equally repressed sexually but manifests less compensatory behavior in masochism and aggression against enemies--although both these traits are discernible in her.

The molding of the adult, of course, begins in infancy. Cheyenne children are highly valued by their parents and by the tribe. From the outset, their lives are made as comfortable as is possible. They are strictly taught and steadily but gently molded toward the Cheyenne ideal in an atmosphere of love and interest. The Cheyenne child is rarely physically punished, and we have seen how daughters may react in suicide if their mothers are overly harsh or vindictive after they have grown up.

Birth is attended to by the female relatives of the mother assisted by some knowledgeable old midwives. A special birth lodge is sometimes raised, although most births take place in the home tipi. The mother in labor does not lie in bed but kneels on a hay-covered robe before a stout frame of poles set firmly in the ground. She seizes a vertical pole and is embraced from the front by a midwife, who braces her own back against the framework. Another midwife receives the baby and removes it from the rear.

As soon as the baby is born, the mother's uvula is tickled to make her gag, thus forcing out the placenta, which is wrapped in a bundle and hung out in a tree. The baby's umbilical cord is cut, tied, and salved. When it finally drops off, it is carefully saved by the mother, dried, and sewed into a little buckskin bag to be kept by the child until he grows up, perhaps well into adulthood. According to the Cheyenne, the navel contains some of the essence of a child's personality, and the child who does not care for his umbilical will be disobedient and bad. Except for this belief, there is little of the mystical in Cheyenne birth practices. Mothers, it is true, must observe a few minor prenatal tabus, and a medicine man may be engaged to sing during the birth, but the general tenor of the whole proceeding is one of practical obstetrics. The father may not enter the tipi until after the baby is born; but he is busy with practical tasks outside, keeping the fire going and helping the woman who is cooking a meal for the birth attendants. He engages in no magic, observes no special tabus, nor engages in anything resembling the couvade. Nor is the mother ritually isolated after giving birth. She rests in the tipi for four days, it is true, and during this time her child is wet-nursed, but the idea behind this practice is that she needs rest to regain her strength. There are no purificatory rites before she or her baby may rejoin the society.

Newborn babies are gently greased, powdered, and wrapped in soft robes. If the weather is cold, they are carried in the mother's arms for warmth and comfort. Cheyenne mothers use the cradleboard--a wooden frame carried on the mother's back and on which is a laced-up animal-skin "cocoon" in which the infant is tightly bound like a mummy. The baby is ordinarily not put on the cradleboard until some weeks after its birth. The advantage of its use is that the mother may go about her work with an assurance that her baby will not get into trouble. If traveling, or watching a dance or ceremony, she carries the board like a knapsack; when working in the lodge, she hangs it upright from one of the lodge poles; when working outside the lodge, she leans it against the lodge covering. Although the infant is tightly confined when tied in the cradleboard, this does not retard its development in learning to walk or in other phases of growth. It must early learn quiet patience, however. Crying is not tolerated. The Cheyennes say this is because a squalling baby might give away the camp position at night when enemy raiders are seeking it for an attack. On a deeper level, however, the Cheyennes abhor anyone forcing his will upon others by self-display, and this behavior principle must be learned from the outset. Crying babies are not scolded, slapped, or threatened. They are simply taken out on the cradleboard away from the camp and into the brush where they are hung on a bush. There the squalling infant is left alone until it cries itself out. A few such experiences indelibly teach it that bawling brings not reward but complete and total rejection and the loss of all social contacts. On the other hand, the good baby is cuddled and constantly loved. When not on the board it is rocked in the arms of its mother or grandmother and soothed with lullabies. It is nursed whenever it shows a desire (self-demand feeding).

As the infant gets a little older, it is more often carried about on its mother's back in a blanket sling rather than on the cradleboard. Its head projects about her shoulders; it hears and sees all she does; it shares the warmth of her body and feels the movements of her muscles; it receives food passed over the mother's shoulder; it even sleeps on her back as she goes about her household tasks. It is enveloped in warmth, movement, and affectionate attention. Its body is gently soothed with medicated ointments and soft vegetable ointments. Its early years are full of adult-given gratification. Its frustrations must, however, be quickly internalized, for the alternative is isolation in the brush. This is the first lesson learned, and it must be remembered at all times; it pervades Cheyenne life. Children are to be quiet and respectful in the presence of elders. The learned have much to offer, and what one acquires in wisdom about the Cheyenne way one acquires through learning taught by those who know the way. Cheyenne relations between younger and elder are thus the relations of pupils and teachers--and pupils must be deferential.

On the basis of this well-established relationship, Cheyenne children are continuously exhorted by their elders: "Be brave, be honest, be virtuous, be industrious, be generous, do not quarrel! If you do not do these things, people will talk about you in the camp; they will not respect you; you will be shamed. If you listen to this advice you will grow up to be a good man or woman, and you will amount to something." The values of the Cheyennes are made explicit in a steady stream of sermonizing that expostulates what is deeply woven into everyday life. The values are reinforced by many explicit mechanisms of public and family approval.

A child does not have to wait until he is grown up to be able to practice what is preached and to experience the satisfaction of performance. Cheyenne children are little replicas of their elders in interests and deed. Children begin to learn adult activities and practice them in play at incredibly early ages. Boys learn to ride almost as soon as they learn to walk, girls soon after. At two or three, they ride with their mothers, and by the time they are five or six, little boys are riding bareback on their own colts and mastering the use of the lasso. By seven or eight, they help with the herding of the camp's horses. Little girls, as soon as they can toddle, follow their mothers to gather wood and bring in water, the mothers patiently helping them with their pint-sized burdens. Boys get small, but good quality, bows and arrows as soon as they can effectively learn to use them. As Grinnell observed,

> In their hunting, these tiny urchins displayed immense caution and patience, creeping stealthily about through the underbush of the river bottom, or among the sagebrush on the prairie....The care with which they twisted and wound in and out of cover when approaching the game, taking advantage of every inequality in the ground, of the brush, and of the clumps of ryegrass, was precisely what they would have to practice when hunting in later life. (Grinnell 1923:I:115)

Until they are twelve or thirteen, when they are ready for real hunting and their first war expeditions, the boys join with the girls at "play camp." The girls have small tipis, made for them by their mothers. The boys choose older girls to be their mothers; the smallest children are used as babies, and the routine of full family life is mimicked throughout the day. The boys catch fish and bring in birds and rabbits for their food. They cannot kill real buffalo, but they have great fun with imitation buffalo surrounds. The boys who are the make-believe buffalo carry a prickly pear on a stick to represent the buffalo's horns and heart. They go out first to "graze." Other boys, mounted on sticks, ride out to surround them and charge in with their bows and blunt arrows for the "kill." An arrow in the center of the prickly pear brings down the game; if it is off the center, the "bull" is only wounded and turns and charges to give the unskilled hunter a swat on his rear end with the spiny cactus. War is also played with faithful mimicry of the real thing, including the dismantling of the "camp" by the girls, who flee to safety with their "children" and belongings while their "men" try to stave off the enemy. In the play associated with the children's camps (which, incidentally, they call "large play" in contrast to small girls' and boys' play with dolls and toy bows and arrows, which is called "small play") they even put on Sun Dances. Some of the boys may pierce themselves with cactus thorns and drag chunks of wood, calling them buffalo skulls.

A boy's first real hunt and war party comes early in life--at twelve or thirteen. His first buffalo kill is rewarded with great public recognition, if his family can afford it. His father calls out the news for all in the camp to hear, and he announces that he is giving a good horse--even his best one--to some poor man, in honor of the event. This man gets on the horse to ride all around the camp, singing a song in praise of the boy. The youngster's mother may get up a feast, to which the father publicly invites a number of poor people to share in the family's good fortune. Gifts of blankets and other valuables may be distributed at the end of the feast. The same thing is done when a boy comes home from his first war party.

It is easy to imagine the sense of glowing pride of the young teen-ager who gets such attention on his first manly successes. Cheyenne youths have little reason to be rebels-without-cause. They slip early into manhood, knowing their contributions are immediately wanted, valued, and ostentatiously rewarded. In the family response we see also the signalizing of Cheyenne social consciousness. Some families do better than others, winning more goods and more prestige, but what they have is shared with those who are less able and more luckless. The boy and his parents get tremendous ego-gratification; at the same time, however, they must think of others. Here, too, we see revealed the Cheyenne attitude toward wealth. It is not to be hoarded or to be self-consumed. Stinginess and miserliness are un-Cheyenne. Its value derives from its being given away. Chiefs, who are the greatest exemplars of Cheyenne virtures, are the greatest givers. Note also, that the Cheyennes do not expect an equal return in gifts, except in marriage exchanges; nor is there anything comparable to the Northwest Coast Indian potlatch with its competitive rivalries. Cheyenne boys learn to become highly competitive in the skills of hunt and war. They are rewarded with great individual prestige for successful performance, but the fact is also impressed upon them that they fight for the benefit of the tribe, "to protect the people," and that the fruits of the hunt are to be widely shared.

It is also important to observe that there are no initiation or puberty rites for boys in Cheyenne culture. Cheyenne children acquire full adult status by performance, without the necessity of undergoing hazing by the old men or any other form of rite de passage. This fact is illustrated in the timing of the piercing of the ears (pierced ears hold the rings with which the Cheyennes are so fond of adorning themselves). In many parts of the world this event would be part of the puberty ceremonies, and the privilege of wearing the decorations would be an indication of adult status. No so, with the Cheyennes: ears are ceremonially pierced at the ages of three to six, the action being performed on occasion of the tribal ceremonial gatherings. The honored man who is to pierce a child's ears is sent for by the father through the medium of a crier, who makes the announcement to all the camp. The ear piercer counts coup, performs his task, and receives a munificent present of horses or other goods.

One might say that if there is any initiation for the Cheyenne boy, it takes place on his first warpath.

> .....in all ways the journey was made easy for them. Yet when the moment came to fight, they were given every opportunity to distinguish themselves....While such little boys did not often accomplish any great feat, yet sometimes they did so, and returned to the village covered with glory, to the unspeakable delight and pride of their families, and to be objects of respect and admiration to their less ambitious and energetic playfellows. (Grinnell 1923:I, 122-123)

Such a boy receives a new name, chosen from among those belonging to his family's most outstanding predecessors. He is now, indeed, a full-fledged adult.

For the Cheyenne girl, on the other hand, there is a clear-cut transition rite. Before the time of her menses, however, she, like the boy, receives continuous encouragement and family rewards for her achievements. My own Cheyenne informant, Calf Woman, was seven when her mother started her on her first robe quilling. When she had finished it and placed it over her little baby niece as a present, her grown-up brother said, "Well, I shall have to give her a present to keep her up. She will learn to expect things for her efforts." And he gave her a pony. Later, when a baby girl was born to her brother, Calf Woman beaded a cradleboard for the infant. Her brother gave her a mare.

The first menstruation of a girl is a great event. She has entered womanhood, and her father calls the news to the entire camp from beside his lodge door. If wealthy in horses, he gives one away to signalize the occasion.

Like other Indians, the Cheyennes nonetheless consider menstrual blood to be defiling and inimical to the virility of males and to their supernatural powers. The girl therefore retires to an isolation, or moon, hut so that there will be no danger of her polluting her father's or brothers' sacred paraphernalia. Before going, however, she lets down her hair, bathes, and has her body painted all over in red by her older woman relatives. She takes a ceremonial incense purification just before she goes into the hut, where she remains four days with her grandmother, who looks after her and advises her on womanly conduct. At the end of the period, she is again smudged completely to purify her for reentry into social life. Until menarche, all Cheyenne women leave their tipis for the moon lodge, but only unmarried girls must go through the purification each time.

After her first menses, each girl receives her chastity belt from her mother. She wears it constantly until married. Even after marriage she wears it whenever her husband is away at war or on the hunt. She wears it whenever she goes away from her lodge to gather wood or water. For any man other than her husband to touch it is a private delict of the first magnitude. In one case, a man was nearly stoned to death by the girl and her mother in a surprise ambush. The least that the miscreant may expect is that the girl's female relatives will charge his camp and destroy it. In the one case in which this actually happened, the parents of the guilty boy made no resistance.

Individual assaults with intent to rape are nonexistent among the Cheyenne--except for the case of Bear Rope, who assaulted his daughter. She disemboweled him with a knife while protecting her virtue. The Arrows were renewed for Bear Rope's death, but the daughter was not exiled, for her parricide was justified.

The sexual repression and self-control of the Cheyennes have been sufficiently noted in our previous discussions. Its harmless aggressive outlet in the men's attacks on the root diggers has been described. Its masochistic expression in the self-aggression of Sun Dance torture and self-sacrifice of flesh and fingers has been detailed. In only one institutionalized practice within the tribe are the floodgates opened to release all the pent-up, subconscious, frustration-bred sexual aggression of the males. This is supposed to take place when a woman is flagrantly adulterous. In the four cases which we were able to record (Llewellyn and Hoebel 1941:202-210) the triggering events were desertion, simple adultery, and refusal to enter into a sororate marriage--all exasperating actions by strong-willed women toward men who claimed a husband's rights. The response is to "put a woman on the prairie," called noha's3w3stan (literally "any man's wife"). The outraged husband invites all the unmarried members of his military society (excepting his wife's relatives) to a feast on the prairie. There the woman is raped by each of them in turn. Big Footed Woman was forced into intercourse with forty or more of her husband's confreres when a young wife. She survived it and lived to be a hundred, but no one ever married her afterwards. Tassel Woman was nearly dead when she was rescued by Blue Wing and his wife. The right of a husband to give his wife to his soldier "brothers" is not denied, yet it is a formal right that the Cheyennes in fact cannot accept with equanimity. In two cases, the brothers and father of the woman went forth to attack the whole soldier band, threatening to shoot to kill regardless of the ban on murder. The soldiers scattered and kept out of their way. In the case of Little Sea Shell, the girl fled to the wife of the Keeper of the Holy Hat, for the band was on the march and the Hat Keeper's wife had the Buffalo Hat Bundle on her back at the time. The lodge of the Hat Keeper is an asylum in which even an enemy raider may find sanctuary. If he can get to the Holy Hat Lodge, he is immune and will be escorted safely out of Cheyenne country. In this instance, the Hat Keeper's wife made a symbolic lodge by putting her arms about Little Sea Shell while holding a stick associated with the Hat Bundle. Her quick thinking saved the girl.

Men who have participated in a gang rape are not proud of it. The women in the camps taunt them, and they do not defend themselves; they just hang their heads and walk away. Clearly, the deed runs counter to dominant Cheyenne values. We suspect that the right of the husband to do this to his wife is very old and may have some sacred significance. Grinnell mentions that just before the great fight with the Pawnees and Potawatomi, in 1853, Long Chin was putting on the Holy Hat to wear in the battle when the chin strap broke. This was very bad luck, so to counteract it Long Chin "publicly pledged himself to give a woman to be passed on the prairie" (Grinnell 1915:88). The deed may originally have had some of the quality of the action in which the wife of a Pledger of one of the great ceremonies is offered to the High Priest or Instructor. In any event, the practice is an anomaly in terms of Cheyenne ideals, but understandable in terms of psychodynamics.

According to formal belief, any woman who has been four times divorced becomes a "free woman"--any man's game. Although there is no memory of this ever having happened, one of the four Virgins of the Elk Soldiers was once put on this footing because she had lost her virginity before marriage. The Elks cut her hair and turned her loose, publicly disgraced. No man would marry her, although many went to her for intercourse. She was really a kind of outlaw--like the banished Sticks-Everything-Under-His-Belt. But, like him, she was rehabilitated and reinstated in the tribe by a Sun Dance pledged in her honor, sometime around 1865. In the Sun Dance, the priest prayed to Maiyun to give her a new life, and when it was over, the Pledger married her. Like the earth, she was renewed, and she lived faultlessly with her husband for many years.

Finally, the inversion of Cheyenne personality in the Contraries needs to be examined in the present context. It will be remembered that a small handful of men reject the male warrior role by becoming transvestites. Others, the Contraries, overdo the warrior role in an institutionalized form of pathological exaggeration. The first important fact is that the Contraries may not marry. If they do, they must give up their lances and behave like normal people. The second fact is that the Contraries court death with extreme recklessness in battle; their lances give them "great luck," however, and they are hard to kill. We put these two facts together and suggest the following: the Contraries, like the Halfmen-halfwomen, are neurotically anxious about sex relations and their own virility. Whereas, the Halfmen-halfwomen find their refuge in total rejection of male sexuality, the Contraries seek validation in an exaggerated male rejection of heterosexuality.

The symbol of the Contrary is the Thunder Bow, a special bow decorated with magic feathers and bearing a lancehead on one end. An ordinary lance is a perfectly good weapon that may or may not be endowed with sexual symbolism. The Thunder Bow is not a weapon, however. It is carried in battle, but it is used only to count coup. It is significant that its point may not touch the earth--the bearer of life, the essence of femininity. Symbolically, the Thunder Bow suggests the male sex organ tied and restrained.

Two further facts that demonstrate the sexual implications of this status are, first, that a Contrary may never sit or lie upon a bed and, second, that a man becomes a Contrary because "he is afraid of thunder and lightning." He dreams that he must become a Contrary and that this will cure him of his anxiety. The Thunder-bird, from whom the Contraries' great supernatural power comes, is a male figure.

In his rejection of heterosexuality, the Contrary rejects normal social relations. He must live alone, apart from all the camp. Whatever he does in social relations he does backwards. Ask him to do one thing and he will do its opposite. Even in battle, he cannot charge with the other warriors at his side, or in front or behind him. He must be off on the flanks, alone. When he holds his Thunder Bow in his right hand, he may not retreat.

The Contrary, then, is the Cheyenne warrior male with a monomania for what might be called military virility. For this, he is highly respected--and pitied. The Cheyennes say it is a fearsome and difficult thing to be a Contrary, an almost unbearable burden. Contrariness may be seen as providing a customary outlet through which extreme cases of anxiety are turned constructively to the social benefit of a warrior nation. Yet, if it were allowed to spread throughout the society, it would rend the social fabric. This threat is mastered by limiting the number of Contraries to two or three. A man may become a Contrary only by purchasing the Thunder Bow and power of one who is already a Contrary. The seller is then released of his obligations and may marry and return to normal life.

In summing up this study of the Cheyennes, the following points must be mentioned. The Cheyennes stand out among the nomadic Indians of the Plains for their dignity, chastity, steadfast courage, and tightly structured, yet flexible, social organization. Never a large tribe, they have held their own with outstanding success. They have come to terms with their environment and with themselves. They are exceedingly rational and skilled in cultural adaptation through felicitous social inventiveness and manipulation. Although deep down they are beset with anxieties, their anxieties are institutionally controlled. Their adaptation to the Plains way of life was sudden and rapid. In this situation of flux they have faced three great threats: famine, enemies, and internal disruption. They ward off famine with carefully police-controlled group hunting, abetted by occasional supernaturally directed group hunts, and they constantly reassure themselves by tribal World Renewal ceremonies. They hold off their enemies by exaltation of the military life combined with a system of firm alliances with selected neighboring tribes. They counter the forces of internal disruption (in part engendered by the training and values necessary to successful war making) by repression of sex, by vesting authority in those who are learned, by organized government and removal of tribal chiefs from status competition, by emphasis on altruism, by banishment of murderers, and by reinforcement of tribal unity through the great tribal ceremonies. Reasonable effective mechanisms for intrasocietal release of aggressive tensions are provided in mock battles between men and women, in a variety of competitive games, in self-torture, and in institutionalized role transfers for a few of the men.

This selection, written by a male anthropologist, shows great insight into the different socialization processes and the internalization of appropriate sex roles in a Plain's Indian society. Views of sexuality, symbolic acts, and modes of reprisal upon transgressing members of Cheyenne society are shown.

Deviancy is another side of sexuality which had its function in Native American society. Deviancy was and is important in Native life and should be understood within the cultural context of each society. Male homosexuals have been ridiculed by many contemporary Native Americans. This scorn presupposes that there were none in aboriginal societies. Indeed, some Native American females have been heard to say that this phenomenon is a feature of the advent of the Europeans. Ethnographic data offers evidence to the contrary. Deviants not only existed but they had honored roles. Native homosexuals were called berdache, a term first used by the French when describing this phenomenon in North America. Another term was hemaneh or Halfman-halfwoman, as deviants were called by the Cheyenne. They were not necessarily a product of male dominant or warrior societies as it has been implied. Matilda Stevenson reports of We-wha, a transvestite in the Zuni society, which is matrilineally organized. These people were highly regarded as can be seen in Hoebel's account of them.

> "The transvestites are male homosexuals who wear women's clothes and often serve as second wives in a married man's household. ... They are all doctors and highly respected. War parties like to have Halfmen-Halfwomen along, not only for their medical skill but because they are socially graceful and entertaining. Young people like them because they possess the most powerful of all love medicines. A suitor who is able to get their help is fortunate indeed, for no girl can resist the power of their potions. They are especially sought out as intermediaries to lead the gift-laden horses to a girl's household when a marriage proposal is being made. These people, through sexual sublimation, with their self-abstinence and denial of their natural-born sex, seem to achieve great power. Although we have no direct evidence for it, it appears probably that their presence on war parties is desired mainly because of their high "psychological" potential of stored-up virility - which is just what the Cheyenne feel is necessary for successful fighting." (1960)

Although the hemaneh's main ritual function was to conduct the ceremony of the Cheyenne Scalp Dance, acceptance of these individuals extended into the larger society. Their roles were many-faceted.

The literature on sex roles does not report sexually aberrant behavior for Native females. This may be attributed to incomplete reporting for specific tribes or the non-interviewing of Indian females. O'Meara (1968) does mention "warlike" females such as the "Absaroka Amazon" when referring to the Crow Indians. This characterization is dealt with in the paper, "Warrior Women of the Plains" (Medicine, 1973). The only direct reference to female homosexuality to be found is in David Thompson's journal writings. He writes:

> "In the man I recognized the woman who three years ago was the wife of Boisverd, a Canadian and my servant; her conduct was then so loose that I requested him to send her away to his friends....She found her way from tribe to tribe to the sea, she became a prophetess, declared her sex changed, that she was a man now, dressed and armed herself as such, and also took a young woman to wife, of whom she pretended to be very jealous." O'Meara, 1968, 82 quoting Thompson's Narrative, 1962, 366.
>
> David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812, ed. Richard Glover, Champlain Society Publication 40, Toronto, 1962.

Other sexual behavior patterns within the Cheyenne which were singular and worthy of notice was the practice of sexual abstention for the child's sake. Hoebel writes of this in his book:

> "Sexual energy is a limited quotient which must be spent sparingly. Therefore, a man of strong character and good family vows at the birth of his first child (especially if it is a boy) not to have another child for either seven or fourteen years. All of the father's growth powers are then concentrated on the development of this one child rather than being dissipated among several.... During this long period of seven or fourteen years the father must practice absolute celebacy, unless he has more than one wife. The mother of the dedicated child is without question celibate throughout the period unless her husband pledges an Arrow Renewal or Sun Dance, when for that specific occasion she may engage in sexual union with the instructing priest. Adultery is so rare among the Cheyenne that it hardly provides an available, if irregular, outlet for sexual desires. Should a parent break the vow of dedication, it is believed it will kill the child. Not many Cheyenne men feel strong enough to submit themselves to the test of self-control demanded for the sake of the child in this act of renunciation, but for those who do, there is the highest of social esteem." (Hoebel, 1960)

Other tribes such as the Lakota (Sioux) also practiced sexual abstention for the sake of a child. This was a rigid and self-imposed practice. It indicates a qualitative dimension of child care and, implicitly, a high regard for women. The life of a Plain's Indian woman was exceedingly strenuous; she was constantly on the move, erecting _tipis_, helping to butcher the buffalo, drying meat, tanning skins, making clothes, caring for family and kin, and gathering wild fruits and vegetables. It was not easy to be constantly pregnant and fulfill the arduous tasks of the Quilling Societies (Cheyenne) or the "Bite-the-Knife" ceremony (Lakota). These sodalities recognized industry and virtuousness and gave prestige and honor to a woman.*

This practice of sexual abstention might have contributed to the practice of sororal polygomy among many of the warrior societies of the Great Plains. Other factors which undoubtedly led to the development of this practice was the probable excess numbers of women which came about because of the numerous wars. Sororal polygomy allowed for smoother interpersonal relationships than would have been possible had the co-wives not been sisters.

Economic factors also contributed to the institution of sororal polygomy since the marriage relationship is directly tied to the economic role of the male as an adequate provider. A good hunter could supply provisions to care for the food and shelter requirements of two households. This, in turn, provided raw material, hides, and flesh, which often required more care than could efficiently be handled by one female. Sororal polygomy provided an effectively functioning answer to the problem. Should there be no available sister, the classificatory kinship structure could be availed of to supply a substitute. If the Cheyenne can be used as an example, it can be found that their "kinship structure . . . was strictly bilateral. . . .The Cheyenne drew no distinction between siblings and cousins." (Hoebel, 1960) Therefore, any female cousin, who stood in a younger relationship to the first wife, could be a candidate for the position of second wife, if the male acquired sufficient prestige as hunter and warrior to sustain her. This kin-based affiliation of co-wives assured added harmony to the tipi-hold and also allowed for greater economic gain and social prestige for husband and kin group.

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*A corollary sodality for men would be the _akicita_ (warrior) societies of the Sioux.

In contrast to sororal pologomy are those women who have been referred to, in anthropological literature, as "manly-hearted" women among the Piegan. This tribe is one of the triad of the Blackfoot Confederation in Canada. These "manly-hearted" women have had great appeal for feminists. Oscar Lewis, an anthropologist best known for his "culture of poverty" construct, first reported this Native form of feminism (Lewis, 1941). These females very often were favorite children, the favorite child syndrome being very common in the Plain's culture area, as demonstrated by the Hunka ceremony among the Lakota. These Peigan girls, during childhood, received more attention and had more food and toys lavished upon them than did the other girls. They were often leaders in games. Frequently they played boy's games, and sometimes utilized names of great warriors in their play. Interestingly, they indulged in sex early in life. They excelled in domestic, religious, and sexual affairs and were prominent in the ownership of property. The Piegan culture, like the Cheyenne and the Lakota, was male-dominated but these "manly-hearted" women were accorded privileges based upon their ambition and boldness in both economic and sexual matters. Thus unusual form of feminine behavior appears to have resulted from the fur trade which emphasized the woman's role as a producer of tanned skins thereby giving her a new prominence and value.

The fur trade coupled with the decimation of warriors, which occurred during the inter-tribal wars, increased the value of women and ultimately produced such terms as "Sits-Beside-Him Wife" among the Piegan, an Algonkian-speaking Plains tribe (Medicine, 1973). This was surprising for the Blackfoot Confederacy has been traditionally reported as a society in which women had a decidedly lower status.

Female marital infidelity was dealt with harshly by the male Piegan, a fact which underscored their reportedly lower status. Macmilian, in August 1933 writes:

> "...In the evening, we went to the tents of the Indians, where we saw at least six women whose noses had been cut off. This is the way in which the Piegans and other Blackfeet punish the infidelity of their women, a hideous disfigurement."

> (This practice was apparently widespread among the Blackfeet, as Maximilian noted elsewhere in his journal:

> "Many of the men have six or eight wives, whom they are very ready to give up to the Whites; even very young girls are offered. On the other hand, they generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases; and we saw, about Fort McKenzie, a great many of these poor creatures, horribly disfigured. When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. The woman whose nose is cut off, is immediately repudiated by her husband; nobody will take her as his wife; and such women generally work for their subsistence in other tents; attend on the children, tan hides, or perform other household work. There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife when she has had intercourse with others; often he avenges himself on the paramour, takes away his horse or other valuable property, to which the latter must submit quietly."

> The actual mutiliation was often inflicted by the husband's band or union:

> If a woman, whose husband is in one of the unions, has had any intercourse with another, the union meets in one of the tests where they smoke and, in the evening, when all around are buried in sleep, they penetrate into the woman's tent, drag her out, ill-treat her as they please, and cut off her nose. The husband cannot make any opposition; he must repudiate such a woman.
> (Thomas and Ronnefeldt, People of the First Man, 1976)

It should be noted that the severance of a adulterous wife's nose was a common practice among many tribes of the North Plains. The quoted account is an instance in which numbers are given. This account also chronicles the offering of Native women to White men which is seldom mentioned in the accounts of early observers.

Another sensitive area governing sexual roles is the concept of power. This delicate issue permeates interrelationships of behavior and regulates interaction between males and females of all ages and all time. The qualities of power transcends ordinariness and assumes aspects of quietude and privacy which is tied to proscriptions and prescriptions within a belief system. Native power configurations such as orenda for the Iroquois-speakers and wakan for the Siouan-speakers were mechanisms regulating person-to-person relations and person-to-unknown relations. These concepts were tied to the religious system and should not be confused with some aspects of power which were biologically based. Mary Douglas in Purity and Danger (1966) deals with this concept when writing of the Yurok, a California tribe.

> "The Yurok so much believed that contact with women would destroy their powers of acquiring wealth that they held that women and money should never be brought into contact. Above all it was felt to be fatal to future prosperity for a man to have sexual intercourse in the house where he kept his strings of shell money. In the winter, when it was too cold to be out of doors, they seem to have abstained altogether. For Yurok babies tended to be born at the same time of year - nine months after the first warm weather. Such a rigorous separation of business and pleasure tempted Walter Goldschmidt to compare Yurok values with those of the Protestant ethic. The excercise involved him in a highly specious stretching of the notion of capitalist economy, so that it would embrace both the salmon-fishing Yurok and sixteenth-century Europe." (Douglas, 1966)

In reading some of the history books regarding Indians, one is struck with surprise that White women captives were frequently unmolested sexually. The reason for this is more obvious to a Native woman than to the non-Native woman. Warfare was often a liminal state for men. To prepare for this state in many tribes, a period of sexual continence was prescribed. This state of being in a state of "power" had great emotional undertones and has more significance than most non-Indian people can comprehend. The entire future virility and manhood of the Native male was involved, then and for posterity. His behavior on the war path was directly tied to the continuity of his people. He often accrued coup counts, booty (horses) and other prestige points that were intangibly weighed into the Native system as a whole. These feats directed his future and the future of his group, his family, his extended kin, and the tribe at large.

On the other hand, when captive White women had married into the tribe and were rescued, they often refused to return to civilization. Caroline Parker, wife of Quanah Parker was a good example of this.

Within most Native societies in North America, identification with different sexual stereotypical expectations did not occur until the young males and females were about seven or eight years old. It was during this period that their play activities mirrored that of the adults in the societies of which they were members.

Grinnell writes:

> "Little companies of small boys and girls often went off camping. The little girls packed the dogs, and moved a little way from the camp and there put up their little lodges - made and sewed for them by their mothers - arranging them in a circle just as did the old people in the big camp. In all that they did they imitated the elders. The little boys who accompanied them were the men of the mimic camp.
>
> In the children's play camps the little girls used tiny lodge poles - often the tall weed-stalks that are used for windbreaks around the lodge - and the boys sometimes acted as horses and dragged the lodge-poles, or hauled travois with the little babies on them. To the sticks they sometimes fixed travois.

> When the lodges were put up the boys used to stand in line, and the older girls asked them to choose their mothers. Each boy selected the girl who should be his mother, and they played together. The girls played in this way until they were pretty well grown, fourteen or fifteen years of age; but the boys gave it up when they were younger, for they strove to be men early, and usually soon after they reached their twelfth year they began to try to hunt buffalo, killing calves as soon as they could ride well and were strong enough to bend the bow." (Grinnell, 1972)

Socialization for adult sex roles and expected behaviors may be found in most ethnographies of tribal groups. Grinnell continues:

> "The children did not stay out all night, but during the day they pretended that it was night, and went to bed. During the day they moved the camp often; even every hour or two.
>
> These children imitated the regular family life, pretending to be man and wife, and the tiny babies - who were their brothers and sisters - served them for children. Little boys courted little girls; a boy sent to the girl's lodge sticks to represent horses, and if his offer was accepted received with her other sticks and gifts in return. Babies able to sit up were taken out into these camps, but not those that were too young. Sometimes a baby might get hungry and cry, and its little sister who was caring for it was obliged to carry it home to her mother, so that the baby might nurse." (1972)

Further, he writes:

> "The training of the little girls was looked after even more carefully than that of the boys. Their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers constantly gave them good advice. They recommended them especially to stay at home, not to run about the camp, and this was so frequently impressed on them that it became a matter of course for them to remain near the lodge, or to go away from it only in company. Both mothers and fathers talked to their daughters, and quite as much to their sons, but in a different way. The mother said "Daughter, when you grow up to be a young woman, if you see anyone whom you like, you must not be foolish and run off with him. You must marry decently. If you do so, you will become a good woman, and be a help to your brothers and to your cousins." They warned girls not to be foolish, and the advice was repeated over and over again.
>
> As a girl grew larger she was sent for water, and when still older she took a rope and went for wood, carrying it on her back. The old women early began to teach the girls how to cut moccasins, and how to apply quills and to make beadwork. As they grew older they learned how to cook, and to dress hides, but the girls were not put regularly to dressing hides until they were old enough to marry.
>
> Boys and girls alike had each some special friend of their own sex to whom they were devotedly attached, and each pair of

friends talked over the advice received from parents." (Grinnell, 1972)

The socialization or enculturation processes in the so-called primitive Native societies (see especially Terrell and Terrell, 1974) of North America presents a realistic training for adult sex roles and occupational places. An examination of any tribal society shows explicit patternings for individual participation in that society.

But what of the Native American woman's view of her life within her culture? Fortunately, there is an autobiographical sketch of a Cheyenne woman which offers a Native's view of sex roles and cultural expectations. The time period is 1931. This life history presents a Native woman's perception of her life in a changing society.

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My mother is 80 years old and is still living in apparently good health. If my father were living he would be about 85 years old. I do not remember in what year he died. My father's sister is also dead. She died when she was 102 years old. This aunt of mine was the person who instructed me in all the ways of courtship.[1]

I want to mention an incident that was later told me by my mother. She said that I was taught to ride horseback alone when I was 4 years old. Of course, I do not remember this.

---

[1] I do not know whether or not instruction in courtship, etc., given by a paternal aunt to her niece is institutional.

Whenever they moved camp I was tied onto the saddle. One day, they say, I, or rather the pony, was lagging behind. My saddle girth became loose, and I and the saddle were under the horse's belly. Luckily the pony was very gentle.

When I became an older girl I was rather expert in riding horseback. This was my greatest sport. I even rode untamed ponies. Of course, sometimes I was thrown off by ponies who bucked very badly.

Ever since I can remember I had a bed of my own in my parents' tipi.[1] This bed consisted of willow head and foot uprights.[2] My own bags were placed against the wall of the tipi. The wall of the bed also included buffalo hides.[3] My pillows were decorated with porcupine quills.[4] My bed was always placed farthest from the door of the tipi, a place of honor.[5]

My mother taught me everything connected with the tipi, such as cooking and tanning hides for different purposes. The first pair of moccasins I made were for my father. "You are very good in making moccasins," he said with a smile, "they are very nice." This encouraged me greatly.

My mother would show me how to twist the sinews, and how to cut the soles and uppers of the moccasins for different sizes. I became very competent in this work at an early age. I used to make moccasins for other children, beaded as well as plain ones. I was always well rewarded for my work by the parents of the children.

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[1] The beds ranged around the walls of a Cheyenne tipi: see Grinnell, George Bird. The Cheyenne Indians, vol. I, p. 225. New Haven, 1923.

[2] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 242, 243, vol. 2, p. 365.

[3] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 225.

[4] For pillows decorated with porcupine quills see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 186.

[5] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 73.

Whenever we moved camp I always managed to catch my own riding pony, and to pack my personal belongings on another pony which was used for that purpose only.

My mother would always tell me that the main purpose of her teaching me, as well as the object of my owning my own bed, was to keep me at home, and to keep me from being away to spend my nights with my girl chum. This was done so that there would be no chance for gossip by other people.

My parents were very proud of me. In fact they treated me as if I were a male member of the family. They took the greatest pains to have me well dressed. Even my saddle was decorated. I also owned an elk-tooth dress.[1] This was afforded by only a very few. And it was by no means considered obtained by luck, but by years of hard hunting.

One day when we were moving, my mother taught me how to put a pack on the pony. This was a new pony unaccustomed to being packed. I noticed it would not stand still. When we turned it loose with the other pack animals it ran away and caused much excitement.

Apart from the regular training my mother gave me, she made for me the paraphernalia of the deer-hoof bone game, which are strung and looped at the end of a string.[2] The game is played by girls; and after maturity young men and young women participate in the game, sitting in alternate places. I was always placed near the door. This was because I was a good player. In the alternate positions the young men were recognized as sweethearts whether they actually were or not.

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[1] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 224.

[2] See Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, 24th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 527 et seq., and 529-533, 1907.

In my girlhood days we girls played what we called "tiny play." This play imitated the customs and ways of the grown-up people. Our mothers made rag dolls of women, men, boys, girls, and babies. We used forked sticks to represent ponies, and we mounted the tiny people on the fork of the sticks, pretending to move camp. Sometimes a baby would be born; or, a marriage would take place--in fact anything that we knew about older people. In this play we did not allow any boys to play with us girls. We had rag dolls to represent boys.

After a time as I became a little older we played what we called "large play."[1] This play consisted of real people, namely, boys and girls. The boys would go out hunting (really, go to their tipis) and bring meat and other food. We girls would pitch our tipis and make ready everything as if it were a real camp life. Some of the boys would go on the warpath, and always came home victorious. They would relate their war experiences, telling how successful they were, especially with the Pawnee (Wolf Men). We girls would sing war songs to acknowledge the bravery of our heroes. Of course, we would have marriage feasts, dances, etc. Sometimes we had the Sun Dance.[2] In this play we did not use real food, but baked mud bread and used leaves for dishes. The pledger and the woman were there. We would have our children's ears pierced[3] and gave away horses. Some of the boys would have their breasts pierced with cactus thorns, others dragged buffalo skulls (which were really chunks of dead wood). Sometimes the older boys would come. When we saw them we always stopped and scattered. My aunt told me not to play with young men.

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[1] For a similar game among the Crow see Lowie, R., The material culture of the Crow Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 21, pt. 3, p. 249, 1922.

[2] On the Cheyenne Sun Dance see Dorsey, G. A., The Cheyenne, II. The Sun Dance, Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 103, Anthrop. Ser., vol. 9, no. 2, 1905; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 211 et seq.; Petter, R., English-Cheyenne Dictionary, article "Sun Dance," pp. 1028-1030, Kettle Falls, Wash., 1913-1915.

[3] For ear-piercing see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 61, 62, 105-107, 149; vol. 2, p. 276; Petter, loc. cit., p. 181 (article "bred").

At one time--I remember the incident well--while we were playing with boys some young men came upon us. One of them took after me and seized the sleeve of my dress and tore it off. I surely was frightened, not that I feared bodily injury, but because I thought, "Here is a young man trying to bestow his manly attentions on me." It all seemed so strange and bewildering to me. Eventually this young man would come and see me, to court me.[1] At first I was very much afraid to venture outside after dark. I would always ask my mother to accompany me before I would go out. My mother furnished me rawhide twine and a piece of hide to use as a diaper which was securely tied around my hips and pudendum. This was done to preserve my virtue against the attacks of an overanxious young man.[2]

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[1] According to Grinnell the modern Cheyenne courtship is like that of the Sioux; see loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 131 et seq.

[2] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 131. Though not exploited by modern ethnologists "roping" was common enough among Indians of the Great Plains; for the Sioux see Beckwith, M. W., Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore, 43, p. 360, footnote 2; for the Assiniboin see Denig, 46th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 590; for the Arapaho, cf. Vestal, S., Kit Carson, p. 122; for the Cheyenne and Arapaho see also Dodge, Col. R. I., Our Wild Indians, pp. 195, 196, 203, 212, 213. For the benefit of those who are not specialists I am constrained to say that Colonel Dodge's book can be used only with discrimination. I pass over such absurdities as the statement (p. 204) that an unmarried girl is never sent out to cut and bring wood, etc., for these are easily controlled by general factual knowledge as well as numerous documentary sources of information. Much more subtle than this are various statements regarding sex mores which are scattered throughout the book. The trained ethnologist will see that they are incompatible (see for example, pp. 195, 196, 203, 208, 211, 213 as opposed to pp. 210, 213); the casual reader will not. It is largely owing to the uncritical use of such sources that the main thesis of Briffault's The Mothers cannot be sustained. I lay stress on this because zoologists will pounce upon this work to bolster their own theories regarding human social origins (see now Miller, G. S., jr., The primate basis of human behavior, Quart. Rev. Biol., vol. 6, pp. 379-410).

My aunt (father's sister) had heard that a certain young man had begun to look upon me seriously. She came over and began to tell me what to say and how to act in the presence of this young man. She said:

> I hear you are beginning to have admirers. Your father and mother have reared you with great care. Your father especially has seen to it that you have had good things to wear such as other girls of your age do not have. And your mother has taught you with great patience the art of things that each woman is supposed to know so that she might make a good and successful wife. As you go through life all these things and what I am now telling you will be of great benefit to you. You will be in a position to teach your children if you have any. It is silly to exchange too many glances and smiles with this young man, especially in the presence of people. He will think you are too easy and immoral. When he comes to see you at night you must never run away from him. If you do so this indicates that you are silly and not sufficiently taught and educated to respect the attentions of a suitor. You must never consent to marry your suitor the first time he asks you to marry him, no matter how good looking he may be. Tell him you would like to associate with him for some time yet to come. And if he really thinks anything of you he will not be discouraged, but will continue his visits and come to see you. When he comes at night do not let him stay too long, but ask him please to go. If you let him stay till he is ready to go he will think you are in love with him and will surely think less of you. You must always be sure to take great care to tie the hide under your dress, covering your pudendum, with strong raw hide string. You must remember that when a man touches your breasts and vulva he considers that you belong to him.[1] And in the event that he does not care to marry you he will not hide what he has done to you, and you will be considered immoral. And you will not have a chance to marry into a good family. In short, you will not be purchased, which is surely the ambition of all young women.[2]

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[1] For touching the breasts compare for the Crow, Lowie, R., The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 16, p. 42, 1915; for the Thompson Indians, Teit, J., The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthrop. Vol. I, Jesup N. Pac. Exp., vol. I, pt. 4, pp. 323, 324, 1900; for the Lillooet, Teit, J., The Lillooet Indians, Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthrop., vol. 3, Jesup N. Pac. Exp., vol. 2, pt. 5, p. 268; 1906; for the Shuswap, Teit, J., ibid., pt. 7, p. 591, 1909; for the feeling of ownership after touching the vulva, I have abundant confirmatory statements from various Cheyenne informants; see also Beckwith, loc. cit.; cf. also Czaplicka, M. A., Aboriginal Siberia, Oxford, pp. 84,87,1914.

[2] Compare also Lowie, R., Primitive society, New York, 1920; Dorsey, J. O., Siouan sociology, 15th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 242, 1897, quotes Matthew to the effect that among the Hidatsa the woman is not merely sold to the highest bidder. Among the Fox Indians of today the exchange of goods is the important point; it is not purchase.

> What I mean by marrying into a good family is that the young man's people are not liars, thieves, or lazy, nor have they committed any offensive crime. If you allow the young man to take advantage of you willingly he will make jokes and sing songs with words about you. The people will know and we will be embarrassed and ashamed, especially since you have been brought up and taught in a good way. You must also bear in mind that there will be other young men who will come to see you. They will want to find out if you will succumb easily. If they are serious and approach the subject of marriage, turn them off by saying something nice about the young man who had been seeing you previously. In any case, you must never say anything bad or call any one names, nor remark on their looks or on the poverty of their people. The old saying is, "The birds of the air fly up above but are caught some day."[1] If you say bad things or call one bad names, the one insulted will crawl into the tipi and fondle you while you are asleep;[2] and he will boast of knowing you. It will also be considered that the man is then your husband. Your denial will not help you. You will be placed at the mercy of gossipers.

After I had reached the age of young womanhood, I was not single very much longer. One afternoon I was visiting my girl chum. When I came home that evening there were a number of old men in my father's tipi; I also noticed much fresh meat. I asked my mother what it was all about, and what those old men were here for. She said, "My daughter, these men are here to deliver a message, asking the consent of your father that you marry a male of their family.[3] And I want to tell you that your father has consented. However, he will speak to you later." My father said to me, "My daughter, these men have come here to ask my consent to your marriage. Five horses and other things will be sent over in the morning. I have consented. Now I myself want to hear what you think." I made no reply. I was frightened. But at any rate the horses were brought over the next morning. My male relatives were called to select their horses, but before doing that they called me in and asked me what I thought. My paternal uncle started to talk to me saying how well my parents had brought me up, and stated that marriage by purchase was considered one of the greatest and happiest events in one's life.[1] He said, "I know that this is your father's desire. As you can see, he is getting on in years. His eyesight is not very good. This young man will look after the necessary work for your father. However, we do not wish to do anything against your will. Now, let us hear from you." I then said to them, "Since my father has consented to the offer of marriage by purchase, I also agree to the proposed marriage. I love my father, and whatever he deems best for me, that I will do. I cannot refuse my father's wishes for those reasons."[2] They were all glad to hear me, showing it by their sincere approval.

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[1] As is known, proverbs, charades, the stóry within the story, the riddle, animal tales of the type of "The Fox and the Crow" are either unknown or very rare in aboriginal America.

[2] A similar trick was done among the Crow Indians; but the guilty man thereby was automatically barred from leadership in the white clay expedition of the Sun Dance. See Lowie, R., Social life of the Crow Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 221, 1912; The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians, ibid., p. 42. For the same trick among the Sioux, see Beckwith, loc. cit.

[3] On Cheyenne marriage see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 137 et seq.

They then proceeded to select their own horses, one at a time. They were all good saddle horses. They in turn gave their own horses. My people saddled one of the horses on which I rode over to my future husband's people, leading the four other horses. My future husband's women folk met me near their camps and I dismounted. They carried me on the blanket the rest of the way, and let me down at the entrance of my future husband's tipi. I walked in and sat beside him. This young man was no sweetheart of mine; he was a stranger to me: he never had come to see me when I was still single. I wondered if I would learn to love him in the future. After some little time the women brought in many shawls, dresses, rings, bracelets, leggings, and moccasins. They then had me change clothes. They braided my hair[1] and painted my face with red dots on my cheeks. When I was completely arrayed in my marriage clothes I was told to return to my people. My husband's women folk carried the balance of my clothing to my tipi. In the meantime my mother and aunt had prepared a large feast. Towards evening my own tipi was erected. The cryer called in a loud voice inviting all my husband's relatives, naming my husband as the host. My husband came over with his male relatives. While there they told jokes, and some related their war exploits; still others narrated funny things that had happened to them in the earlier days.

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[1] See Footnote 2, on page 64.

[2] If Grinnell is right, this reply is not institutional but personal. From my own field-work among the Plains Cree, I can vouch that there at least the girl has the final say.

After I was married I thought I would have more freedom in going around with my girl friends, but my mother watched me more closely and kept me near my husband, day and night. This was done to prevent any gossip from my husband's people.

A year or so before I married we played games. In the fall of the year we played "kick ball."[2] This is played by kicking and counting the number of times the ball is kicked with one foot with the ball not touching the ground. Some girls could keep the ball in the air with a tally of 50 or 60. We had tally sticks to keep count, 150 of them. The side that won took the ball.

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[1] For the braiding of the hair of Cheyenne females see Grinnel, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 59, 60.

[2] See Culin, loc. cit., p. 706; Grinnell, loc cit., vol. I, pp. 330 et seq.; Petter, loc. cit., p. 831.

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The losers ran away from the winners who chased the losers all about the camp, pounding them on the back with the ball. This created merriment and excitement. Even those who did not participate in the "kick ball" game were tagged and became "it." A person tagged before could not become "it." The losers were supposed to give food to the winners, and so the game ended.

There was another game played by us young women on the frozen lake or river. We had dart sticks 10 or 12 feet long, smooth and straight. In one end of the dart sticks was the tip of a buffalo horn, about 4 inches long. The dart stick was thrown with great force on the ice and it slid a great distance.[1] This was a sort of gambling game. We bet our ear rings, finger rings, bracelets, hair-braid ties, and other things.

In the spring of the year we played shinny, using clubs to drive the ball. There were 20 to 40 players on each side.[2]

With the approach of summer our attention was directed to horseback riding. Even after I was married my husband and I would travel on horseback. It was a long time before we had a wagon.

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[1] See Culin, loc. cit., pp. 399, 400, 401; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 334, 335; Petter, loc. cit., p. 830.

[2] See Culin, loc. cit., p. 620; Petter, loc. cit., p. 828.

My parents continued to care for us.[1] My mother did all the cooking,[2] but my husband's meals were always taken to our own tipi. This was for me to do. My mother and my husband were not allowed in the same tipi at the same time.[3] My mother took especial care that my husband received the best portion of food. My husband's duty was to look after the horses and do all the work that was required of a man.

We had our first child after we had been married a year. It was at this time that I began really to love my husband. He always treated me with respect and kindness. We had eight children before he died. The first decorated tipi I made was after I had had my fourth child.[1] Of course when I was a girl my mother permitted me to look on when she made decorated tipis. There is a rather long ceremony in connection with the making of tipis. I became a member of the "Tipi Decorators," which is composed of women only.[2] I was very carefully instructed never to disclose the ceremony in the presence of males. So I shall be obliged to discontinue the subject.

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[1] Matrilocal residence is attested for the Cheyenne by both Grinnell (loc. cit., vol. I, p. 91) and Mooney (with the qualification "not always"; see his The Cheyenne Indians, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc., vol. I, pt. 6, pp. 410, 411, 1907). It is confirmed by my own field-work. Matrilocal residence is a very different thing from exogamy with female descent. This last is claimed for the Cheyenne by Grinnell: see his Social Organization of the Cheyennes, Proc. Internat. Cong. Americanists for 1902, pp. 135-146, New York, 1905; The Cheyenne Indians, vol. I, pp. 90 et seq., New Haven, 1923: per contra see Clark, W. P., The Indian sign language, p. 229, Philadelphia, 1885 [Mooney's reference to p. 235 also, is due to some error]; Mooney, J., The Ghost Dance religion, 14th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 956, 1896; Mooney, J., Kiowa calendar, 17th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 227, 1898; Mooney, J., The Cheyenne Indians, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc., vol. I, pt. 6. pp. 408-410, 1907. I do not think it can be said that Grinnell has successfully contested Mooney's strictures. My own field-work among the Cheyenne (beginning in 1911) confirms Mooney's position by statements of informants and genealogies. I wonder if Grinnell's informants may not have had Crow blood and thus given a wrong impression, for the Crow are organized in exogamic groups with female descent. In justice to Grinnell it should be noted that he expressly states that "evidence of a clan system is not conclusive."

[2] For other courtesies shown by a Cheyenne mother-in-law to her son-in-law, see Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, vol. I, pp. 146, 147, New Haven, 1923.

[3] Though this particular avoidance is only implied by Grinnell, loc. cit. vol. I, p. 147, there is no doubt that it was institutional among the Cheyenne; the same thing occurs among the Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and probably elsewhere: see E. T. Denig, Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri, 46th Ann., Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 511, 1930; Kroeber, A., Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. I, pt. 4, p. 180, 1908; Wissler, C., The social life of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 7, pt. I, pp. 12, 13, 1911.

My husband's health became broken. We summoned many Indian doctors, and gave away much personal wearing apparel, and also some ponies. One day when we were alone he pledged a Sacrifice Offering. This ceremony is a sacred ritual which is regarded as a prayer to the spirits for strength and health. When he made the pledge this included me, for the rule requires that a wife must be included. But sad to say, he passed away before we could carry out the pledge.

Four of my younger children also died later. It was a good thing for me that my father and mother were still living. I did not really have a hard time to support my children.

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[1] Four is the "holy" number among the Cheyenne. See Dorsey, G. A., The Cheyenne, I, Ceremonial organization, Field Columbian Mus. Publ. 99, Anthrop. Ser., vol. 9, no. I, pp. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 23, 28, 32, 33, 1905; II, The Sun Dance, Field Columbian Mus. Publ. 103, Anthrop. Ser., vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 60, 63, 91, 96, 99, 100, 144, 159, etc., 1905; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 197, 205, 214, 227, 228, 229, 236, 237, 245, 251, 257, 288, 289, 291, 292, 297, 321, etc.; Mooney, J., The Cheyenne Indians, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc., vol. I, pt. 6, p. 411, 1907. It is extremely common among North American Indians, but Mooney's generalization is too sweeping; see for example, Lowie, R., Primitive religion, p. 284, New York, 1924.

This note applies to all the references to the number four in the following pages.

[2] See Grinnel, loc. cit., vol. I, pp. 159 et seq., for female societies among the Cheyenne; also Petter, loc. cit., article "bead," pp. 97, 98.

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I surely loved my husband. His death made me very lonely, and it was a terrible event in my life. Apparently I missed him more than I did my children who died afterward. My hair was cut off just below my ears.[1] This was done by an old woman who had obtained the authority by participating in one or more sacred ritualistic ceremonies previously. Before cutting off my braids she first raised both her hands towards the sky, touched the earth with the palms of her hands, laid her hands on my head, and made a downward motion, repeating the motion four times. Thus my braids were cut off in accordance with the belief that the spirits would be pleased and extend blessings and sympathy to the bereaved. The old woman who cut my hair was given a blanket and a dress.

The death of my husband marked the passing of our tipi, including all the contents. If people do not come and carry away something, the whole tipi is destroyed by fire.[2]

After two years I heard that a man had pledged a Sacrifice Offering.[3] My father and mother immediately advised me to go and see this man in order to be permitted to fulfill my deceased husband's pledge. My father said the pledge could not be set aside and neglected any longer, in spite of what had

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[1] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 161. The same thing occurs elsewhere, e.g., among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfoot: see Kroeber, A., The Arapaho, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 18, pt. I, p. 16, 1902; Kroeber A., Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol, I, pt. 4, p. 181, 1908; Wissler, C., The social life of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 7, pt. I, p. 31, 1912.

[2] See also Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 162.

[3] Though this particular ceremony apparently is absent from published works on the Cheyenne, it is abundantly clear that the elements which compose it are simply old Cheyenne material recombined in slightly varying ways. The annotations will bring this out more clearly. Years ago I demonstrated the same thing for Fox gens festivals.

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happened in the past.[1] So I went to see this man and his wife. They readily agreed to my request. They told me to be ready soon thereafter. They said they had everything that was needed in connection with the ceremony and that I need not worry about these things. They also said he had taken the sacred pipe to the priest to teach and lead them. This pleased me greatly as I had nothing to do now, and only waited to be notified when all was ready. The day before the ceremony proper green timbers were brought from the forest in order to have them in readiness for the following day. The day the timber is brought in the tipi is erected, that is, in the evening.

The ritualistic ceremony itself begins early the next day. The pledgers are required to dress in their best clothing. The clothing thus worn becomes the property of the painters. The first thing the priest does is to prepare the Sacrifice Offering cloth. Though other things can be used, such as black, white, red solid-colored or striped cloth--and gray eagle also--we used a striped cloth which the priest tied to a long stick. This is, of course, inside of the tipi. After this the priest smokes the medicine pipe and points the mouthpiece of the pipe to the four directions of the earth and towards the skies. The pipe is then passed to the left. The first person on the left of the priest smokes it, and so on, down to the doorway. The pipe is then passed backward without being smoked and is passed to the right of the priest until it reaches the last person near the doorway. This person smokes it, then the next person on his left, and so on until the pipe again reaches the priest. He then empties the bowl of the pipe. The pipe is then put away. The priest instructs the pledgers how to raise and point the stick to the proper directions when they go out. They then go outside. The person in the lead takes the stick and cloth. The priest begins to pray, and then sings medicine songs. At the end of each song he tells those outside to point the stick southeast, then southwest, then northwest, then northeast, and then straight towards the sky. Anyone may then take the cloth and touch one's body all over with it, thereby receiving a blessing from the spirits.

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[1] The nonfulfillment of a pledge was fraught with supernatural disaster; compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 195.

They then reenter the tipi. The ground is then broken by making dents in the earth four times, in the same manner as the pointing previously. The ground is made very smooth, and a hole is made for a fireplace in the center. Clean white sand is then laid on this clearing, representing the sky.[1] The coals of fire are scattered here and there, representing stars. There are four holy places on the sand, the home of the spirits; and the holes are made in the same sequence of directions as given above. The path from the entrance into the tipi is marked with powdered coals towards the fireplace. A full moon[2] is between the fireplace and the entrance. Beyond the fireplace is the crescent moon.[3] These moons are made of black powdered coals. There are four buffalo chips[4] placed in front of the priest. The medicine bags are placed on top of the buffalo chips before they are untied and opened. Before they are opened the priest spits medicine on one's hands four times, and passing motions are made first using the right hand by making a drawing motion on the right leg, then the left hand on the right arm, next the right hand on the left arm, then the left hand on the right leg; and both hands backwards over the head.[1] This is required for old people. Young women are required to make a downward motion in front of their bodies, indicating an easy childbirth.

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[1] For the ceremonial use of sand compare Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 65: Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 261.

[2] For the ceremonial use of a full moon compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 196.

[3] For the ceremonial use of the crescent moon compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 193; vol. 2, pp. 24, 270.

[4] For the ceremonial use of buffalo chips compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 87, 121; vol. 2, pp. 18, 32, 37, 57, 245; etc.

The pledgers are stripped of their clothing. The painters paint their bodies red; but in the case of women their arms and legs are painted, but not their bodies, and their faces are painted red with black circles all over; others have the paint represent the ground, namely, four black specks on the face and middle of the nose. When the painting is done, coals of fire are taken from the fireplace. Pinches of medicine are placed on fire which is in front of each person. Motion is made with both hands towards the smoke, and inhalation takes place. During the performance the priest sings medicine songs, one song for each performance. When all is done the pipe is pointed[2] to the four directions without being lit, and after it is lit it is again pointed to the four directions. After the pipe is emptied the priest calls the pledger to come before him. The priest holds the pipe in his right hand; he spits on the outstretched right hand. The pledger then grasps the stem of the pipe held by the priest with the bowl towards the ground. The pledger clasps the hand of the priest, and both hold the stem of the pipe. The pledger gently pulls the pipe towards himself four times. The fourth time the priest lets go. The pledger takes the pipe, first placing it on his right breast, then on the left, then right, then left; he hands the pipe back to the priest. He makes drawing motions over his limbs as before, and then proceeds to touch the holy ground exactly as with the drawing motions. After this, all may touch the holy ground. This terminates the ceremony in the tipi.

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[1] The ceremonial motions described by Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 160, are nearly the same.

[2] For pointing the pipe, compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 270.

All this time the Sacrifice Offering cloth and the stick leaned against the breast of the tipi, and green timbers leaned against the back of the tipi. The women now take charge of the timbers, and proceed to build a sweat lodge.[1] The first two timbers are planted on the east and the two on the west; these sets are about 2 feet apart. Then the remaining timbers, about 13, are put in the ground, forming a circle about 8 feet in circumference. This will accommodate about 15 persons. A round hole is made in the center of the sweat lodge. This is a place for hot stones; it is about 2 feet in circumference and 1 foot deep. The dirt taken from the excavation is placed about 20 feet towards the east of the entrance, and is made into a mound.[2] This mound and the sweat lodge are connected by a trail. Then a young cottonwood tree[3] is placed in the ground in an upright position near, but east of, the mound. A buffalo skull[4] is then placed against the mound; it is on the west slope[5] and faces the sweat lodge. The skull is painted with black and red paint: the horns are blackened, and the region around the nose is painted red; a black streak runs from the back of the head to the tip of the nose.[1]

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[1] See especially Petter, loc. cit., article "sweat lodge"; for the use of sweat lodges in religious ceremonies see also Lowie, Primitive religion, p. 195, New York, 1924.

[2] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 103.

[3] For the ceremonial use of cottonwood trees, see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 95; vol. 2, pp. 229-232, 259, 287.

[4] For the use of a buffalo skull in combination with a sweat lodge, see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 103.

[5] For the localization of the buffalo skull on the west slope, compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 294.

The wife of the pledger carries the skull from the tipi to the mound.[2] She carries it in a stooping position, very carefully and slowly. Five stones are then selected. Two are painted black, a third is not painted, the last two are also painted black. After this they are not handled with the hands, but are put in place with forked sticks between the mound and the sweat lodge, a little to the south of the trail. Motions are made with the hands four times towards the stones before the stones are forked. These stones are placed in the same manner as the holy places within the tipi but are closer together, the fifth stone being in the center. The dried wood and other stones are then placed without any ceremony. However, before fire is added to the heap, the heap is touched four times with a fork in the same manner as the stones. In the meanwhile the women cover the hut with heavy canvas. Blankets, fine clothing, and other things are placed on top of the canvas. These become the property of the priest and his helpers (who are the painters). The property is divided according to what the priest and his helpers gave when they were pledgers. If one or more horses are given away, the ceremony is conducted in the daytime. If not, it is conducted at night.

The priest and pledger enter the sweat lodge with the paint still on them and go over the ceremony as in the tipi, except that they remove the

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[1] The buffalo skull is painted nearly as in the Sun Dance; compare Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 96, 97; in part compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 33.

[2] For the pledger's wife carrying the buffalo skull, see Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 107, 108; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 291.

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paints put on by the painters, using sage[1]; water is drunk, and their bodies are washed. When the hot stones are brought in, two are brought in first, then one, then two. They then are placed in the same order as they were before they were heated. The remaining stones are then brought in. The sweat bath now begins. The priest utters a prayer and sings songs. The doorflap is raised; also the rear is raised, thus airing the bather. This is done four times, and each period lasts about 20 minutes. When this is over we all go back into the tipi, when our relatives bring in all kinds of food for us to eat. Before we eat, bits of food are placed on the holy ground and drawing motions on the body are performed. We then proceed to eat. The sacred medicine bag is in a crescent shape;[2] it is made out of raw hide. The inner bag is an entire prairie dog skin which contains the sacred herbs.

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[1] The use of sage for ceremonial purposes is common enough. See Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 159; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 423.

[2] See footnote 3 on page 73.

This narrative shows the parameters and variety in a "primitive" woman's life. Excellent horsemanship, even to the taming of ponies, was well within the scope of a Cheyenne woman's accomplishments. Good descriptions of women's work are contained within the selection and descriptions of factors which motivated the woman, such as ownership of tip-possessions, expertness in "gaming," the evidencing of "honor" also delineated.

The courtship practices and the use of the "chastity belt" are aspects of the "coming of age" which are seldom mentioned in ethnographic literature concerning Native females. Advice from aunts, male relatives, and parents emphasize the value system of the "good" Cheyenne families, and behavior based upon a code of proper feminine behavior shows potent and prescribing social control mechanisms. The commonly misunderstood "bride price," in which an exchange of horses and goods is made by the Plains Indian in a marriage contract, is put into proper perspective and shows that kin-based domestic groups and their considerations over-ride "romantic love," a western European construct. Interestingly enough, this Cheyenne woman grew to love her spouse in this arranged marriage. Another much chided practice of non-western peoples, avoidance of the mother-in-law assumes new dimensions in the small domestic unit of the Cheyenne tipi. It also shows the functional aspects of avoidance in a face-to-face unit which would relieve tensions and stresses. Health practices and mutual reciprocity are well presented.

This life history is an example of the interweaving of women's varied roles in a Native society of North America.

A second quote from John Stands in Timber, a Northern Cheyenne, verifies the Cheyenne's commitment to marriage. He says:

> "The Cheyennes fell in love, and it was hard for them to be parted. They did not get married for fun, like the white people. In the war days, before my time, a young man who had done something great could walk up to a girl even if her mother was with her. She could not say anything because he had received a high award of honor from the people. But if anyone else tried that the mother would say, "How many times did you touch the enemy?" So most young men were ashamed. They did not dare go to the girl if she was with her mother. A man who had counted coup did not worry. The mother was even rather proud of it.
>
> After peacetime you still did not go in daylight. It was quite different from the last twenty-five years.
> ...
> Since 1920, the girls have begun chasing the boys and it's not so good. Like the white man's Leap Year." (Liberty, 1967)

Photograph by Courtesy of Enrique Berroterán
Professional Photographer, Las Cruces, New Mexico

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN IN TRANSITION

One historical and sociological fact which no one can dispute is that all Native American societies were subjected to and forced to change. Thus Native lifestyles and world views were coerced and pressured to assume a new form: this form was the lifestyle of the European conquerors. The European immigrants brought with them various ethnic life styles which reflected their respective ethos, world views, and behaviors. "Change agents" implementing this forced change were the trappers, traders, missionaries, Army personnel, and other assorted immigrants. The one commonality in these groups was that they considered their life style to be superior to the "savage" life of the Indians. Therefore, they believed the road to civilization must involve the acceptance of European ways through forced acculturation. That acculturation process itself was accomplished through education and proselytization to the Christian faiths.

Certain aspects of superimposed systems of education as they affected the Native female have been selected to illustrate this acculturation and its consequences. For General Richard Henry Pratt, initially associated with the first Hampton Institute in Virginia then the famous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, the civilizing motto was, "Kill the Indian and save the man!" General Pratt equated civilization with Christianity as did so many change agents before him and his purpose was to bring Indian males and females into the larger society and keep them there. Going back home to their natal communities was analogous to him and others to "going back to the blanket" which represented the opposite end of the continuum from civilization.

One such example of this forced acculturation or early "reformation period" can be seen in Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, a Yankton Sioux from South

Dakota. Her experiences are worth mentioning for she faced the same problems encountered by many of the Native females in the 1880's. Over her mother's protests, she attended a Quaker missionary school for Indians in Wabash, Indiana. Later, she went to Earlham College and the New England Conservatory of Music. Her wish to go to school, her isolation at school, her alienation from her mother, and her lack of employment on the reservation are poignantly described in Gridley's Native American Women (1974). Gertrude taught at Carlisle and later married Raymond Bonnin, an employee in the Indian Bureau. She wrote poetry and published in Harper's Monthly and Atlantic Monthly. She was very active in the Society of American Indians. In describing her, during the internecine fight going on within the American Indian Magazine, Hertzberg writes:

> "...Mrs. Bonnin was an energetic and ambitious woman with a mind and will of her own. She was by no means willing to sit by and watch the Society expire or allow it to become merely an adjunct to the AMERICAN INDIAN MAGAZINE. While she agreed with Parker on many issues, being especially vehement against peyote, she was increasingly inclined to take a stronger line against the Indian Bureau than he did. The lead editorial in the "Sioux Number" denounced the Indian Bureau as "an un-American institution" and called for its "elimination." The emphasis on the glories of one tribe and the bitter attack on the Bureau represented a shifting direction in the Society's publication." (Hertzberg, 1971)

This quote was selected for it verbalizes the same themes which continue to interest and to plague Indian organizations and individuals to the present day. Mrs. Bonnin's vehement stand against peyote was the cause of some biting remarks by James Mooney, a staunch defender of the peyote religion. Hazel Hertzberg records Mooney's remarks concerning Mrs. Bonnin's picture which had appeared in the Washington Times.

> "In the accompanying picture, Mooney said, Mrs. Bonnin was dressed 'in Indian costume.' The dress is a woman's dress from some southern tribe, as shown by the long fringes, the belt is a Navajo's men's belt, the fan is a peyote man's fan, carried only by men, usually in the peyote ceremony."

Hertzberg ends the quote by saying "Evidently Mrs. Bonnin was a more eclectic Pan-Indian than she intended to be." (1971) Perhaps some future account written by a White historian or a "tribal house-White", who are those White consultants and proposal writers whom the tribes hire, will offer descriptions as fascinating as that of Mrs. Bonnin's. Certainly the interest or malice concerning "eclectic Pan-Indian females" other than Mrs. Bonnin occurs even today. Russell Means, when viewing a video tape of a Lakota medicine man and the author, asked, "Was Bea Medicine there as a traditionalist or an anthropologist?" When the answer was "As an anthropologist," he responded, "Oh, I wondered as she was wearing all that Navajo jewelry"!

Two years after Indians became citizens of their native land, Mrs. Bonnin, in 1926, became president of a new organization called "The National Council of American Indians." Again her writing reflects concerns which are not only current to her times but which are current today. This letter addressed to "Indian Kinsmen" is illustrative of concerns in the 1920's:

> "Too many individual Indians ask help for themselves only, and seem to forget the TRIBE'S welfare as a whole. This spring I heard Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Scattergood, in a public speech here in Washington, D. C. Among other things, he compared the Indians with the Negros (sic) saying he was sorry that the Indians did not have as much race consciousness as the Negros. Right there, Capt. Bonnin asked, "What do you mean by race consciousness?" Mr. Scattergood tried to explain that educated Negros went back to their own people, to give them the benefit of their education, while Indians did not, as a rule. He did not tell his audience that Indians were not educated enough to pass the required Civil Service examinations, while the Negros have '77 colleges and universities' while Indians had no real High School in the entire Indian Service. Mr. Scattergood left the impression that Indians today are not trying in any way to help their tribes. This is not true as far as the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN INDIANS, Inc. is concerned. Our ancestors had enough race consciousness to protect, feed, and teach HONESTY to the Indian race in their day without white men's schools. However, today, with printed books in our hands, Indian people are rated below the Black race in the matter of race consciousness. Think about this. Whose fault is it?" (Hertzberg, 1971)

This passage illustrates the dilemma of the Indian woman in the larger society. She deals with individual gain rather than tribal concerns. She deals with a paternalistic bureaucrat placing her in juxtaposition with Negroes (Blacks) and telling her what she should be doing. The familiar exhortation to "go back to help your people" which has plagued Indians for generations is evident in Mrs. Bonnin's writings. The fact that the inequities of Indian education are never fully understood by the White and Black components of the American public is clearly illustrated.

The previous passage includes a question framed by Mr. Bonnin, a Sioux. It forms the basis of Mrs. Bonnin's diatribe against the bureaucracy. But it is not possible from just that to determine what difficulties if any, Mrs. Bonnin might have had in fulfilling marital duties and advocacy for Indians, which has been and is the bane of many Native American women, past and present. This aspect of involvement in tribe and inter-tribal affairs is one facet of Indian womanhood which is most difficult to assess due to lack of data.

From what can be termed the "flamboyant Indian female" one is able to construct something of what their experiences were even though one must rely heavily upon White historians. Indian females appear to be somewhat reticent about writing about their personal, intimate trials and tribulations. There are very few accounts of those Indian women who bore the burden of life on the reservations in the early period, and what there are do not give the Indian female's views of White intruders or change agents. It is difficult to determine the feelings they had when their children were taken from them and sent to off-reservation boarding schools. Their anguish at the return of their daughters as "brown White women" was not generally recorded. However, there is one account which describes very poignantly the alienation resulting from a changed cultural setting. Gridley in his account of Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-sha or Red Bird) demonstrates this:

> "When she was twelve years old, she was sent to a Quaker missionary school for Indians in Wabash, Indiana. Her brother, three years older than herself, had gone there. Gertrude was lured to the school by tales told by the recruiting missionaries of a ride on an iron horse, of the beautiful countryside, and of trees that grew big, red apples - hers for the picking." (Gridley, 1974)

Some of the recruiting techniques used by contemporary missionaries bear a remarkable resemblance to those used on Gertrude. "You will be living in a house with running water" was a phrase once heard from Mormon missionaries (Bea Medicine, Field Notes). Gridley goes on to say:

> "Gertrude's mother was unwilling to let her go, but the child's eagerness wore down her resistence. She decided that Gertrude should be an educated woman for there would be many more 'palefaces' in the country as time went on and increasing problems for those who would try to live in traditional Indian fashion." (1974)
>
> "When she returned to the reservation at the end of her three year term, she was torn between the beliefs of her people and the new ones that she had been taught. Her mother wrapped herself in aloofness because there was a deep chasm between them. Gertrude's existence was a joyless one. She was neither completely Indian nor completely white. She was Indian in features and coloring, but she no longer thought as one. It was difficult to recall her first language, and she could express her thoughts only in a limited way, not with the richness of Sioux imagery and phrasing. So mother and daughter spoke almost as strangers in a stilted fashion that could not convey any feelings of deep emotion." (Gridley, 1974)

This passage presents data which must be put into proper Sioux perspective for it underscores the idea that the female role in each tribe should be analyzed within the cultural context of that tribe. Within the first paragraph there is an element many Whites would have called "willfulness." In the Lakota world view, it is important to know that children are thought to be beings capable of decision-making. This attitude is contained within the province of "world view" and is one of those intangible but enduring continuities of tribal culture. This frequently baffles and antagonizes teachers of Sioux children. It is called, by them, "obstinancy" and "intractability." To the Lakota, it spells "individual autonomy," and the fact is, that even in contemporary Sioux society, the child is treated as a person capable of reasoning. This can also be seen in other Native groups. For example, a Santo Domingo child was seen offering a gift, a ring, to a non-Pueblo adult. This was allowed by the extended kin group for the three-year-old child was seen as capable of making choices. This area of child socialization should be explored in each tribal group one encounters for its universality can be put to the test. Then one would be able to more adequately define THE Indian way. Commonalities found in enculturation, in the process of learning to be a member of a culture, or in cultural transmission would certainly increase understanding of Indian beingness in the present day.

The preceding excerpt from those days when White educators feared their charges would "go back to the blanket" presents some heart-rending truths about learning and living in a new cultural setting. More devastating to the individual psyche of the Native student was the fact that tribal backgrounds are denigrated, equated with savagery, and to be eradicated. This placed the female who was educated away from the reservation in a very anamolous position; she became truly a "marginal woman." This is illustrated by the statement that Gertrude's mother "wrapp[ed] herself in aloofness."

The consequences which can occur when an individual is torn between two cultures can be seen in yet another account; this one poignantly describes the life history of Polingaysi Qoyawayma (Elizabeth Q. White) and the rending of the vital relationship between father and daughter.

"As she bent to pull the paho from the sand, Polingaysi felt a wave of superstituous fear sweep over her. But she was a Christian now, she reminded herself, and need not fear the magic in a stick with a feather on it. Defiantly, she carried it home and challenged her father with it.

"What does this stick mean to you and to the Hopi people?" she asked with more arrogance than she realized. "To me, pah! It means nothing. It has no power. It's just a stick with a bit of cornhusk and a feather attached to it. Why do you, in this day and age, when you can have the message of the Bible, still have faith in sticks and feathers?"

Her father, true Hopi that he was, recoiled from the proffered paho, refusing to touch it. There was a worried look in his eyes. "Must you know?' he asked. "Of course, I must know," Polingaysi declared. "Why shouldn't I know?"

"Lay it on the table," her father said, "and I will tell you." She placed the stick on the rough board table which she had goaded the little man into making, and the two of them bent over it.

"Do you see that blue-green, chipped-off place here at the top?" her father asked, pointing. "That is the face of the prayer stick. It represents mossy places, moisture. Now this below is the body of the prayer stick. A red color, as you can see, like our colored sand. That represents the earth. Moisture to the earth, then, is what the paho is for."

"A prayer for rain?"

"That, yes, and more. The stick carries a bundle on its back." "The bit of cornhusk, bound with string? What is it for? What does it mean?"

"I don't know what is bound up in the cornhusk," her father said, "and I won't open it to find out. However, I think you might find there some grass seeds, a pinch of cornmeal, a pinch of pollen, and a drop of honey."

"But why, why?" Polingaysi demanded impatiently. "What good does it do?"

The little Hopi man had been carving a Kachina doll from the dried root of a cottonwood. He turned away and went back to his work, sitting down crosslegged on the floor and picking up his knife and the unfinished doll. Polingaysi stood looking down at him, waiting for his answer. He thought before he began to speak.

"The good it does depends on many things, my daughter. It depends most of all on the faith of the one who made the paho. If all those things I mentioned are inside the little bundle that it carries on its back, it would mean that the one making the paho planted it in Mother Earth as a prayer for a plentiful harvest, with moisture enough to help Earth produce full ears of corn, plump beans, sweet melons." He looked up at her and his small face was worried. "Surely you have not forgotten the meaning of the feather? Feathers represent the spirits that are in all things. This one represents the spirit that is in the prayer the paho offers up."

Polingaysi turned away and took the paho in her hands. About to tear open the cornhusk, she looked down to see her father's hands stilled and horror in his expression. Suddenly she could not open the paho's treasure without his permission. She could not fly in the face of tradition to that extent, knowing it would offend his spirit, however silent he remained, however little he reproached her openly.

"May I open it?"

Her father bent his head, possibly questioning the propriety of such an action and fearing the harm it might do him and his daughter. After a moment of hesitation, he sighed, saying, "It seems well weathered. I think it is more than four days old. If so, its purpose has been served and the power has left it. Use your left hand."

Gently, in spite of her pretended scorn, Polingaysi opened the bit of wrapped cornhusk. It had been folded while still green into a tiny triangle. In this little pouch there was a bit of material about the size of a pea. Seeds, cornmeal, pollen, held together with honey, as her father had predicted.

"Can't you see there's nothing of value in here?" Polingaysi cried.

"Not to you," her father agreed. "Not to me. But to the one who made it in prayer."

She would have questioned him further, but he took his work and went outside, his face enigmatic.

"For pity's sake, Mother," Polingaysi burst out, turning to Sevenka who had been working quietly on a basket during the discussion, "does everything in the life of a Hopi have a hidden meaning? Why, for instance, should I use my left hand to open that thing?"

"It seems foolish to you because you are young and do not understand everything," her mother said patiently. "Perhaps you are foolish because you do not understand Hopi ways, though you are a Hopi. I will tell you about the left hand."

"The left hand is on the heart side of the body. It is the hand that moves most slowly. It selects, instead of grabbing as the right hand does. It is cleaner. It does not touch the mouth during the eating of food, nor does it clean the body after release of waste materials."

"Do you remember watching our medicine man--the Man With Eyes--at his work? In his healing rites and also in his religious ceremonies he uses the left hand, for those reasons I have just given you. The left hand, then, is the hand that is of the heart and the spirit, not of nature and the earth."

Polingaysi struggled to deny the beauty of the words her mother had spoken. She sought a scoffing answer, but found none. After a moment the older woman continued.

"One more thing I will tell you about the pahos. They must be kept free of the white man's ways if they are to have the full power of old times. That is why Hopi people do not sharpen them to a point with white man's steel blades, but grind them to sharpness on sandstone."

At that moment Polingaysi saw one of her mother's brothers passing the window. He knew nothing of the discussion and she had no desire to reopen it. With her left hand she placed the paho on the window sill.

"Polingaysi!" the old man cried, his face crinkling into a big smile of welcome. "It is a great treat to my spirit to see you after so long a time. We are always happy to see our child come home, even if she does make us sit at a wooden platform when we eat."

Polingaysi lost some of her contentiousness and laughed. He had always complained about sitting at the table, insisting that he could not keep his feet warm while he was eating unless he sat on them, Hopi-fashion. Her little grandmother had been completely mystified by the table, and though Polingaysi had patiently explained its use, the old lady had laboriously climbed up onto it, instead of seating herself on the wooden bench that served as a chair.

She looked at her uncle and thought of all the new ideas she had gleaned during her life among white people. The old man had no desire to share her knowledge. To him the old way was best. He asked little of life: enough food to keep the breath in his thin, worn old body, a little heat in the fireplace, a drink of water when he was dry.

It was she who was forever holding out her cup to be filled with knowledge.

Reprinted from No Turning Back, Polingaysi Qoyawayma (Elizabeth Q. White) as told to Vada F. Carlson, Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1964. Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by University of New Mexico Press to ERIC and organizations operating under agreements with the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Further reproduction outside the ERIC system requires permission of the copyright owner.

These two excerpts, one from a biographical account (Bonnin) and the other a semi-autobiographical account (Qoyawayma), give a rich body of data from which inferences may be drawn. They present dimensions to the unique experiences encountered by Indian women.

Gertrude Bonnin lived from 1875 to 1938. Upon her death she was buried in Arlington cemetary. (Gridley, 1974) She came from a Northern Plain's tribe, the Dakota, which was, and is, one with a bilateral type of kinship organization. There is no mention of her father in this autobiographical sketch as there is no mention of children in her life. Therefore, it is difficult to assess her feelings towards children except to note that she organized a band for Ute children while her husband was employed with the Indian service in Utah. She could be classified as an early advocate of Indian causes and was certainly in the forefront of Indian organizations.

Polingaysi, on the other hand, emerges from a matrilineal society in the Southwest. Her life experiences reflect the intense interaction of belief, actions, and symbols. Her experiences also demonstrate the enduring cultural uniqueness of the Pueblos which was made possible by their isolation.

The accounts allow the reader to contrast such societies as the Sioux or Lakota, who were forced to give up their Native life style under conquest, to other societies, such as the Hopi, who with a conscious effort maintained their cultural integrity.

Furthermore, these life stories and situations exhibit the coping and adaptive strategies used by female members of each society. Similar adaptive strategies can be postulated for other women in Native societies.

Rasalie Jones, Dancer in Mime,
Native American Performing Artists
Photograph taken at the 8th annual NIEA convention

CHAPTER VI

A PERSPECTIVE OF THE ISSUES AND CHALLENGES FACING THE CONTEMPORARY NATIVE AMERICAN WOMAN

With the assimilation of Indian women in contemporary society, it is difficult to arrive at an exact determination of their numbers or other essential information concerning them.

The Census of 1970 uses ascription or self-designation to determine the ethnic identity of citizens.

> "The category 'American Indian' includes persons who indicated their race as 'Indian' (Amer.), as well as persons who did not classify themselves in one of the specific race categories on the questionnaire but who reported the name of an Indian tribe or had such entries as 'Mexican American-Indian,' ' Canadian Indian,' or 'South American-Indian.'" (Census 1973)

As can be seen in the Census definition of American Indian, a wide spectrum of people are identified as Indian. This includes people with little or no contact or affiliation with a tribe, people who are Indian only in the most nominal sense.

Of the 763,594 designated "Indians" in the United States, 375,384 are males and 388,210 are females (ibid., 1973). There is a slight numerical predominence of women which reflects the trend in the larger society.

The economic picture for Indian women is extremely poor for they earn appreciably less than all other women in the United States. Eighty percent of Native women earn below $4,000 as compared to sixty-eight percent for all other women (ibid. 1974). This low income reflects their low occupational status; one-third of all tribal women, urban or rural, are employed in service occupations (ibid. 1974). As is usual with limited occupational opportunities

Photograph by Courtesy of the National Indian Education Association
Andrew P. Lawson and Loretta Ellis Metoxin (Oneida)
Photography by Chris Spotted Eagle

and low income, unemployment is high, being 10.2%, a rate twice as high as for women at large (ibid. 1974). It has been estimated that in some areas of the country, unemployment is as high as 20 to 60% for Indian women.

In spite of the bleak economic picture, Indian women are becoming increasingly assertive in all areas; law is no exception to this truism. A case regarded by many as a pivotal one is now being tried or adjudicated before the Supreme Court. It involves a Santa Clara Pueblo woman, Julia Martinez, who is married to a Navajo man. The husband wished his children to be raised as Santa Clara Pueblo Indians, but the Tribal Council refused to enroll the children of this union as members of the tribe declaring that the preservation of the culture was at stake. Mrs. Martinez sued the Tribal Council, contending that the offspring of male members of the tribe married to non-Indians have not been barred from enrolling. Moreover, the Santa Clara Pueblo Indians, as with most Pueblos, are a matrilineal society in which descent is traced through the female line, and thus, her children's exclusion amounts to sex discrimination. Mrs. Martinez further contends that this ruling is in violation of the Indian Civil Rights Act.

Another case watched with keen interest is one involving a Tonowanda Seneca health clinic which has been denying services to the children of Seneca women married to non-Indian males yet gives service to the offspring of Senecan males married to non-Indian women.

Both of these cases involve key issues such as equal rights for women and the legality of the Indian Civil Rights Act when it contravenes Tribal sovereignity. The outcome will have significant repercussions for all Indians for generations to come.

These cases illustrate the legal problems encountered by Indian women. As yet there is no uniform legal code governing the status of Indian women; the Indian woman has to contend with a multiplicity of regulations on the one hand formulated by such organizations as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the United States Public Health Service and the Civil Rights Commission. On the other hand are the various regulations of federally recognized Indian tribes whose mandates spring from the treaty agreements with the federal government.

Another challenge which all women, not only Native women, face is the Women's Movement. Generally speaking, the Native American woman in the past has not involved herself in this Movement. However, more Indian women are evidencing signs of interest and militancy. In 1970, a group called the Native American Women's Action Corps came into being. After its first meeting in San Francisco, the group did no further mobilizing. However, during that same summer, the North American Indian Women's Association was formed as a non-profit educational association established to promote the education, health, and family life of North American people. The association also aims to promote inter-tribal communications and awareness of Indian culture. (Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1978). This group meets every June in areas throughout the country. For the past few years, a contingent of Canadian Metis and other Native women have participated.

Another organizational movement attracting the attention of Indian women has been the National Women's Conference held in Houston, November 1977. The women attending that conference published the following manifesto which was later reprinted in MS magazine (March 1978).

"American-Indian and Alaskan Native Women: have a relationship to Earth Mother and the Great Spirit as well as a heritage based on the sovereignty of Indian peoples. The federal government should guarantee tribal rights, tribal sovereignity, honor existing treaties and congressional acts, protect hunting, fishing, and whaling rights, protect trust status, and permanently remove the threat of termination. Congress should extend the Indian Education Act of 1972, maintain base funding of education instead of replacing it with supplemental funding, provide adequate care through the Indian Health Service, forbid the systematic removal of children from their families and communities, and assure full participation in all federally funded programs."

It is safe to say that while most Native American women see no need for involvement in the Women's Movement, some of the young women are very ardently engaged in the struggle for "liberation" as they see it. Following are two excerpts, both from women engaged in the demonstrations at Wounded Knee. They represent two entirely different viewpoints. Regina S. Brave (Dixon) is engaged in the larger issues involved in the demonstration while Kathleen Smith sees the AIM leaders as the personification of sexism who are destructive of the historically dignified role accorded to Indian women. (Dixon, N.D.)

A Woman in Wounded Knee

Regina S. Bravo (Dixon)
Oglala Sioux

I am an Indian woman, Mother, and because I'm a member of the American Indian Movement, I am also classified a 'Militant.' I like being an Indian woman, Mother, and the word militant has become a mainstay for my family and myself. As a divorcee I am also the head-of-household. Just being an Indian Mother makes me a 'feminist' or 'libber,' which we are.

A long time ago the Indian woman was content to remain at home while her warrior went to battle, to hunt, and to seek a name for himself. She knew, from the time she was very small, what her role would be and how she would carry on that role later in life.

An Indian male had to be taught many, many things. The combination of all the things he learned from his Mother and Grandmother and the other women helped him to become a man but in order to be accepted as a man in the Tribe, he had to first go out, prove himself by facing death sometimes, and he earned a name. It was by no means an easy thing to do.

An Indian man, just because he had proved himself, did not sit back and glory in it - he had to constantly live up to his name and having given life he then protected those lives with his own. Being an Indian man is not easy, but being an Indian man is being proud - of himself, his family and his people.

Things are different nowadays in so many, many ways. The role of the male has changed but the role of the Indian woman is still basically the same. We still teach our boys to be men. With the coming of the whiteman and the destruction of this country the role of the Indian male has been drastically altered. And the Indian women are not content.

First, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, after herding Indian people onto reservations (another word for zoo or preserve), and the initiation of State Welfare systems, educational systems, penal institutions, old age homes (all the same difference), tried to make farmers out of the men. It didn't work. So the government made it easy for the Indian woman to get aid from the welfare department - thus demasculating the Indian male even more.

Remember the Trail of Broken Treaties?

In 1972 I went to Gordon, Nebraska with the American Indian Movement to protest the humiliation and finally the agonizing death of Raymond Yellow Thunder, an Oglala Sioux from Porcupine, South Dakota. I thought of my Father and my Grandfather and what I would have done if something like that happened to one of them.

On February 6, 1973, I joined the caravan to Custer, South Dakota to protest the murder of another Oglala Sioux, Wesley "Butch" Bad Heart Bull of Oglala, South Dakota. His Mother was there also as were numerous other AIM women who chose to stand up next to our AIM brothers to seek justice.

We are still seeking justice!

Kathleen Smith, writing of her experiences in Wounded Knee, notes:

"The AIM leaders are particularly sexist, never having learned our true Indian history where women voted and participated equally in all matters of tribal life. They have learned the white man's way of talking down to women and regarding their position as inferior. Some of them actually don't believe women can fight or can think, and gave us the impression that we were there for their use and that we should be flattered to have their children. One man said he was helping Indian unity by having a girlfriend from every tribe. They want to keep women divided and fighting for men's friendship and attention." (unpublished mimeographed paper, 1974, p. 5-6, by permission of author.)

Photograph by Courtesy of the National Indian Education Association
Kristine Harvey, Miss Indian America XXIII
National Indian Education Association Convention, 1976
Photography by Chris Spotted Eagle

Further, she writes:

> "Today, many Indian women insist on stepping back, as do some black women, and letting their men "be men." The women want to be "ladies." But we must not judge ourselves by the white man's standards. We must look to our own proud tradition and realize that our women as well as the men are strong people." (Smith, N. D., unpublished paper, 1974.)

The challenge of self-identify is perhaps unique to Native American women today. Because of years spent at parochial boarding schools and BIA boarding schools, many Native women come from what can be termed hyphenated backgrounds. This search for identity or confusion in identity is made more difficult by marriage with non-Indians (miscegenation). Even tribal intermarriage poses questions of definition for the children of such marriages. Because of the problems inherent in such unions, there is, today, a strong feeling among many Native people that one should marry only fellow Native Americans. This feeling surfaces in discussions with Indians in social situations and in classroom discussions. Other factors which have contributed to the weakening of Indian identity havebeen the adoption of Indian children by non-Indian families, the weakening of traditional family and kin structures, divorce and the one-parent family.

Although there are no firm, easily obtainable statistics, it appears that Indian males are more prone to marry outside their respective cultures than Indian females, a fact which greatly limits the pool of marriageable Indian males. Frequently, these same Indian men who have married non-Indian women have neither a strong background nor strong ties to their tribe.

This question of marriage, identity, and inter-tribal marriage are all inextricably tied to the historical responsibility of Native women as the primary educators of Indian society. It is the mother who teaches language, attitude, beliefs, behavioral patterns and does so far more effectively than the male in Indian society. Because the women tend not to marry outside their culture, they, in effect, become the preservers of their traditions. This responsibility is undoubtedly the most important one which the present-day Native woman bears. That education is of first importance in the preservation of culture can be seen in the attempts of non-Natives to gain control of it and use it as a means whereby the Native could be assimilated into the larger culture.

At present, only 2.5% American Indian females have finished four or more years of college (Census, 1974). Despite this low rate, several trends indicate a more promising future. Increasingly Indians, both male and female, are going to school. The women are often older, returning to school after raising a family, a trend which parallels the trend in the larger population. These women frequently are attending tribal community colleges which are proliferating in reservation areas; the urban Indian female, is also returning for higher education, influenced perhaps by her involvement in community work among Indians or perhaps by her interaction with Indian centers. These urban Indian women are often divorcees, a feature of contemporary life in the larger society, which is not found with the same frequency on the reservations. However, it is difficult to determine with any degree of exactness how many families are headed by females.

Despite the obstacles which Indian women have placed before them, a number of Indian women have distinguished themselves in service to their people.

In the area of government, Betty Mae Jumper, a Florida Seminole, is noteworthy as being one of the first Indian women to serve on a tribal governing body and the first woman to be elected chairman of the Seminole Tribal Council.

At the age of 14, she entered the Cherokee Indian Boarding School at Cherokee, North Carolina and was graduated eight years later. After a year of nurse's training in Oklahoma, she returned to her people in Florida and, as a public health aide, became instrumental in overcoming suspicion of modern medicine. (Indian Record, February, 1969)

Another figure who has overcome obstacles which would daunt lesser women is Mrs. Lorraine Misiaszek, of the Colville Confederated Tribes of Washington. Mrs. Lorraine Misiaszek graduated from Gonzaga University with a Bachelor of Arts in political science. She has served on the tribal council (1956-60) and has helped formulate plans for an accelerated education program for both children and adults and was instrumental in the development of an adult education program in 1960. (Indian Record, February, 1969)

In the area of community service, Mrs. LaDonna Harris, Oklahoma Comanche, is a nationally known figure. As wife to Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, she has been active in a broad range of social concerns in the field of Indian affairs. She is a member of the National Indian Opportunities Council established by President Johnson on March 6, 1968. Both she and her husband founded Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, an organization dedicated to helping Indian citizens obtain better educations and jobs and to participate more actively in community affairs. Mrs. Harris served as president of OIO for two years and saw it grow into a strong force assisting the Indian people. Mrs. Harris is also active in other groups, being the chairman of the Women's Advisory Committee on Poverty, a member of Task Force VI of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, and a national consultant on mental health as a member of the Special Committee on Minority Children. (Ibid.)

One of the most stirring examples of what Indian women are capable of when determined to succeed is Mrs. Alice Florendo. A member of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, she accompanied her grandmother on a horsedrawn wagon filled with bundles of handmade gloves and moccasins. Because her English was superior to her grandmother's, at age five she became one of the youngest of entrepreneurs. As a young teenager, Mrs. Florendo was widowed and left with a child to support. Because no jobs were available on the reservation, she turned to picking berries for a local farmer. During this time, she also earned her 8th grade diploma, although to go on for further education was simply not practical. From this, she advanced to helping the farmer's wife cook for the harvesters and here she learned "white man's cooking," which included canning and baking bread. Her cooking knowledge led to the opening of the Village Cafe in Warm Springs from the Confederated Tribes. Remodeled to seat 72 people, the seven-day-a-week cafe is thoroughly modern, and Indian people have first job preference although Mrs. Florendo is willing to consider "anyone willing to work."

Early in life, Mrs. Florendo came to the conclusion that prejudice was simply "me, uneducated and inexperienced," and she went on to do something about it by working to improve herself and capitalizing on all the experiences life had to offer to her. (Ibid.)

While Mrs. Florendo's struggle for educational and employment opportunities was truly heroic and due to her unassisted efforts, the future looks more promising for the young Indian women of today.

Recently the Women's Bureau and other governmental agencies such as the National Institute for Education have begun showing concern for the education of Indian women. Increasingly government and other responsible agencies are addressing the educational problems of Indian women. Most recently the National Institute for Education convened a "Symposium of Indian Leaders" in Washington, D. C. in early 1977. Of the twenty-four women invited, fifteen appeared, representing twelve tribes from eight states and Washington, D. C. The purpose of the conference was to sensitize the federal bureaus of government to the needs of the Indian, particularly the Indian woman. Besides specific recommendations for particular federal agencies, certain needs were established as follows:

1. Leadership training for Indian women for more effective involvement and participation in Federal programs.
2. Summaries of regulations and the need for more workshops to help Indian women understand and respond to proposed regulations and also to analyze legislation.
3. More conferences fashioned after the symposium but at the regional/local level.
4. Development of a job/skills bank.
5. Information regarding employment rights and contract provisions.
6. Information regarding existing training/education programs such as for police officers, Indian court judges, Indian planners and CETA prime sponsors.
7. Collection of data on the effects of programs on women and men separately.
8. Employment of Indian women in policymaking positions in the Federal government.

Also addressing the needs of women recently has been the National Institute of Education sponsored Conference on Native American Women which met in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in October 1976. The papers from this conference

Photograph by Courtesy of the National Indian Education Association
Two Attendees of Fashion Show
National Indian Education Association Convention, 1976
Photography by Chris Spotted Eagle

are being edited and will be published in the near future by the United States Government Printing Office.

Native women have had some invaluable allies in their mission as teachers and transmitters of culture. One such ally is the network of relations which is a feature of reservation life. In these networks it is possible to call upon the sister of one's mother as though she were one's mother. Even in present day Native societies, this is a continuing system of relationship. This is a factor which should never be overlooked, for in it resides important elements of Indian-ness.

There are a number of resource books which have proven invaluable in giving biographical information concerning Indian women who have either contributed to their respective tribal societies or to the society at large. Among them are the following biographies:

Gridley, Marion E. Indians of Today
Chicago: Millar Publishing Company, 1947

Gridley, Marion E. Indians of Today
Chicago: Towertown Press, 1960

Gridley, Marion E. Indians of Today
Chicago: I. C. F. P. Inc., 1970

Franco, John M. American Indian Contributors to American Life
Westchester, Illinois: Benefic Press, 1975
This is a book for elementary students.

Another source to aid the Indian woman in her role as teacher are such printed materials as Who's Who in the World of American Indians. These materials are important in high schools and boarding schools for they can enforce aspirations and attitudes in Indian youth and help them to strive towards their goals. In such sources can be found the names of women who represent American tribes. There are those that say that such people are not representative of the group, that they are too educated, that they are too acculturated. But regardless of the merit or lack of merit such criticisms contain, the Indians listed in such books provide a baseline which can be used when looking at people in the community.

Another resource helpful to the reservation Native woman in her role as teacher is older women. From them the younger woman can learn much practical wisdom and much of the oral history which has never been recorded. Many of the present-day anthropological reporters are recording life histories from just such sources in order to look at the changing role of women. These older women are what social scientists call "significant others" who shape and influence the direction a younger person will take. They can be invaluable teaching resources and should be recognized as such.

The adaptability of Native Americans has contributed to continuity and progress and allowed Indians to retain their Indian-ness.

Finally, the maintenance of Indian religious values both illustrates the enduring persistence of Indian culture and presents a challenge to the contemporary Indian woman. Buffy St. Marie, Cree folksinger, has answered the questions posed by the larger society and her own tribal society through a synthesis of both. In answer to the question concerning how her Indian religion relates to the religion of the larger society, she has this to say:

> "I've been all over the world and I was an Oriental philosophy and religion major in four years of college study and seven years of private study. And to me, a person's relationship with the Great Spirit of all things transcends all languages, all cultures, is the ultimate personal experience which can be shared with the community or doesn't have to be.
>
> I'm really disturbed by the audacity of people who dare come up with a phrase like the "death of the Great Spirit." I mean, how dare they! Such a thing is not possible. God cannot be taken away from a people. You see, I think Indian people are fortunate and have yet to realize it and capitalize upon it. I thing we're very

fortunate in being contemporary alternative people in the majority society. Being a minority in the majority society, being an Indian in a world that is essentially a mish-mash of all the peoples of the world, we can have a 200 percent life. We don't have to be crippled in two legs, just because we're half the white man's world and half the Indian's world. We can be whole. We can be wholly contemporary and wholly Indian. And our religions can provide us with the encouragement, the basic human initiative to discover our self-respect and to share the respect of all creatures with all creatures--which is basically an Indian value, but I just said it in English." (Talking Leaf Newspaper, N.D.)

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Vita

Bea Medicine, author of this document, has been involved in anthropology and Indian affairs for more than thirty years. She has authored numerous articles and papers of which a few are the "Stoney Indian Magic" and "The Dynamics of a Dakota 'Give-away'" given at the International Congress of Americanists, Stuttgart, Germany, August 1968, and "North American Native Women: Their Aspirations and Their Associations" read as a delegate to Inter-American Commission on Indigenous Women, Chiapas, Mexico, June 1972.

In addition to her professional work, the author has done advisory work for a wide range of organizations. In 1960 she consulted for the State Department of Health, Seattle, Washington, concerning Research Design. She was attached to the Office of Economic Opportunity as a Specialist on Indian Self-Determination in 1969-71, and from 1972 to the present has been acting as an Evaluator/Researcher for Programs for the teaching of Native American Languages for the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D. C.

Miss Medicine is a member of a number of professional organizations such as the American Anthropological Association, the Canadian Society for Sociology and Anthropology, the National Indian Education Association, and the American Indian Historical Association.

Among Miss Medicine's awards are the inclusion of her name in the 1960 and 1970 editions of Who's Who Among American Indians, the designation of Outstanding Alumnus, South Dakota State University, 1977, and the Sacred Pipe Woman, Sun Dance, Standing Rock Reservation, 1977.

Miss Medicine presently divides her time between the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin and Washington, D. C.